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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND AREA STUDIES, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, MARCH 11-12, 1960.

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VARIOUS WAYS OF EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH AND MATERIALS IN AFRICAN STUDIES WERE REPORTED. THE PARTICIPANTS (31) ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS, PRESENTED PAPERS, AND ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS DURING THE 2-DAY CONFERENCE. THE PAPERS WERE PRESENTED ON TOPICS SUCH AS--RESEARCH PROBLEMS, RESOURCES, AFRICAN REACTION, LEVELS OF COMMUNICATIONS, PEDAGOGICAL SUPPORT FROM RESEARCH, AND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS. FOLLOWING THE PRESENTATION OF PAPERS, THE REMAINDER OF THE SESSION WAS DEVOTED TO DRAWING UP RESOLUTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS. THIRTEEN CONCLUSIONS WERE DISCUSSED. A GENERAL CONCLUSION INDICATED THE IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING PROFESSIONAL LINGUISTS IN AFRICAN SPECIALITIES TO SERVE AS A NUCLEUS FOR BROAD PROGRAMS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES. (RS)

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Georgetown University

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND AREA STUDIES

Leon E. Dostert, *Chairman*

Papers edited by

John G. Bordie

MARCH 11 and 12, 1960

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

These proceedings are the papers, summary, and conclusions of the National Conference on the Teaching of African Languages and Area Studies. The conference was held under the sponsorship of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. March 11 and 12, 1960.

With the exception of six papers, all material has been directly from the recordings of the conference. Madame Calame-Griaule's paper was translated by Miss Amanda McThenia, Georgetown University.

SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE

The Very Reverend Edward B. Bunn, S.J., President of Georgetown University opened the conference with the hope it would improve communications so that humanity could be brought closer together for security, peace and the continuing progress of the human race.

Dr. Fife of the Office of Education read a message on behalf of Dr. Mildenberger wishing success to the conference in its work mapping the way to effective development of research and materials in African studies.

THE FIRST SESSION

Papers were read by Dostert, Welmers and Meeussen

Following the reading of the papers, there was general comment that full confidence with a high level of accuracy is of great importance as an initial step in language and area study. Several questions were raised concerning the attitudes of Africans toward European linguists and linguistics. These questions received the answer that the occasional negative attitudes encountered were not peculiarly African but could be traced to the difficulty of switching from old to new methods of analysis in language. It was held that having achieved mastery of a particular orthography, grammatical system, or method of analysis, a teacher or student would be loath to change even if the new ways were demonstrably better. Further comment centered around the problems of research in the field and the admitted goals of such field research. The major problem appeared to be that of gaining acceptance by the community in which the researcher hoped to work. It was felt that no general rule could be devised for an easy solution and that the field researcher's best course of action was to openly and honestly state his purposes and aims whenever asked.

The problem of tone marking was discussed in relation to the language itself and the goal of research. Since many of the African languages utilize tone, there was general agreement that tone should be marked where it occured but that an indication of the tonal structure was possibly of less importance in some languages than in others. Marking of tone was held to be of minor value in Bande which has a very restricted tonal system, while in Mongo it was held to be the key to the morphology. Whatever the language, if the standard orthography did not mark tone, it was suggested that such tone marking should be introduced gradually in order to avoid unfavorable reaction.

Further comment indicated that far from having a negative reception, linguistic research was welcomed by most Africans since such research seemed to be a form of recognition which added to the glories of their linguistic patrimony.

Disagreement arose on the attitudes of Africans towards Europeans speaking the local language. It was held in one view that these Europeans spoke the language badly but, none the less, attempted to modify the orthography and introduce grammatical concepts which conformed to European standards. Another view held there were some Europeans who refrained from unnecessary change and, as a consequence acted as a moderating element on the group which wanted change. A third view held that it was not simply that people liked one thing and not another but rather that the first solution proposed did not solve the problem while the second solution was successful.

The discussion shifted to a consideration of U.S. needs with respect to African studies. These needs were established as being the staffing of American offices in Africa, the staffing of colleges in the U.S., and the miscellaneous assortment of uncategoried needs such as information repositories, area specialists, etc. It was pointed out that the most serious lack was that of basic research in the teaching of African languages and that without the research, there could be no product. A subsidiary question arose whether there was a distinction between practical and scholarly teaching. There was general agreement that in the early stage of language learning there was no distinction between the two and the split, if any, did not come until the student had mastered a large part of the material. It was further held that no matter what the ultimate goal of the language training, more general linguistics should be utilized in the teaching process than has been the case in the past. It was said that general linguistics could provide the adult learner with technical concepts which would explain a large number of related features within a language.

The conference then adjourned for the morning to resume that afternoon.

The discussion reopened with general agreement that African area programs should only be established if there is solid scholarly and scientific support for them, and that once established, language competence should be a primary goal. It was held that the matter of curricula should rightfully be left to the several centers. The suggestion was made that a course should be offered at these centers to acquaint the area trainee with the linguistic characteristics and problems in Africa.

Emphasis was placed on the ability to start training in less familiar languages with minimum advance notice. Centers with regional concentration were proposed as a solution. These centers would teach the major languages and would be prepared to teach the less important languages on demand. As a practical solution to irregular demand, a division of the languages in the area was suggested. Group one would consist of the prominent languages which would be offered regularly. Group two would consist of less important languages

offered in rotation over a period of four to five years. Group three would consist of a large number of minor languages which the several centers would be prepared to teach on request. A list of available manpower was proposed as a means toward solving the problem of locating language and area specialists.

Papers were then read by Greenberg, Watkins, and Hodge.

Additional evidence to support Professor Watkins' thesis was presented in those instances where Swahili is written in the Arabic orthography and, also, in poetry where caesura occurs only at a word boundary. There was general agreement that secondary evidence should be derived from any and all sources but that this evidence should always remain secondary to the primary evidence of the language structure. Further comments were made that a number of approaches should be used in beginning lessons since no one approach could be said to have solved all problems and that whatever course was chosen, no knowledge of linguistics ought to be assumed on the part of the student.

A suggestion was offered that both reference and pedagogic grammars were needed so that the two could complement each other. Such a set of grammars could help in the transfer of materials which had been found useful in one language to another related language. This material was specifically identified as phonologic drill material and information dealing with the local culture.

A tentative course was described as being of forty to fifty units each of some two to three days duration. In the beginning material there would be one page of drill for each page of basic sentences but that as the course continued the proportion would change until the final lessons would have four pages of basic sentences and forty pages of drill materials.

Any program to be established was held to require flexibility and adaptability as students were drawn to the field and the needs changed. It was held that a student was not likely to manifest interest in a nonexistent field of study and that the field would have to be created before students could be sought.

The conference adjourned for the evening to reopen the following morning.

Dr. Fife welcomed all the foreign guests on behalf of the Commissioner of Education.

Papers were read by Pike, Leslau, and Berry.

A large portion of the session was devoted to the topic of "adopting versus adapting". It was held that adopting a local culture was

detrimental in most cases to the goals which had been proposed for the study. All conference participants agreed that adapting to the local culture was to be encouraged since it enabled the researcher to do his work more effectively. The conference held that there were great advantages to gained by requiring language and area training for personnel in government and business before their being sent overseas. Such training would at least take away the fear of the area and its language and could significantly improve relations overseas.

It was suggested that government officials, regional administrators, and missionary groups should be contacted for information and guidance since problems had arisen where the local population did not trust the researcher or could not understand his reasons for research.

General comment arose concerning the implications for non-Americans of the word 'Defense' in 'National Defense Education Act'. It was felt that had the word 'Defense' been omitted, NDEA researchers would be more welcome overseas. The commentary was inconclusive and the meeting adjourned to reopen that afternoon for the final session.

Papers were read by Calame-Griaule and Cole.

Immediately following the reading of the papers, Dr. Fife explained the essential idea of the NDEA and quoted the language of the act "To correct the existing imbalances which have led to an insufficient proportion of our population educated in science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and trained technology."

The remainder of the session was devoted to the drawing up of the resolutions and conclusions.

THE PROBLEM OF A LANGUAGE RESEARCH AND TRAINING PROGRAM FOR AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

L. E. Dostert

Those among us who can think back to the days before the war which begin in 1914, find it hard to believe that so much has indeed happened in so little time. The changes in our world, particularly since the end of World War II, have moved on at an incredible pace and have taken the form of an upheaval.

We are witnessing the swift emergence of national states on the Continent of Africa. There, the number of independent nations will pass from 11 in this year of 1960 to 18 in 1961. We are observing century-skipping strides to move from traditional economies toward modern economies and technological societies. We are seeing the sudden disintegration of established social structures.

One of the major consequences of these developments has been to alter profoundly the world-awareness of the people of the West. The sharp alteration of the scene is leading to a deep change in the West's view of the world.

Nowhere perhaps has this change been more evident than in the growing concern about our lack of adequate resources in languages to achieve at least a measure of direct communication with the peoples of the emerging nations of Africa, and for the understanding of their cultural characteristics. The fact that, in less than a year four conferences have been held on the subject reveals a growing sense of urgency. The recent report of the Scientific and Technical Committee of the NATO Parliamentarians, after listing its recommendations, urges that: "We are belated in taking this step. We must make up for lost time." But time, once lost, cannot again be gained.

These recent conferences, and the initiatives born of them, have already brought forth many sound recommendations. It is our hope that this meeting will contribute to a more definite statement of the problem in respect to African languages south of the Sahara. And it is, I believe, the expectation of all here that this meeting will result in specific proposals for concrete measures in the immediate future which can serve as a basis for longer-range effective action.

Under the general title of this paper, and in the time given, one can do little more than refer to certain basic aspects of the problem and perhaps suggest approaches to some of them. Undoubtedly, these will become clearer and more substantial through the diversified but related papers to be heard, and also through the question and discussion periods that will follow their presentation.

The problems posed by the development of a program in African languages are many and complex. The size of the job has caused some to feel that nothing really fruitful can be accomplished, and that things had better be left as they are.

Others consider that even if a program to provide language training for those who are to work in the area, whether for the government or for business were developed - (Note that I do not refer here to the scholar, the researcher, or the missionary, as these present a different aspect of the general problem) - it is very doubtful that the results would justify the efforts and the investment in time and money called for. When two summers ago I made a trip to Western Africa to study the question on the spot, a highly placed American official thought poorly of the project I outlined to him. His reasoning went like this: American government or business personnel normally go to the area for a two or three-year assignment, which is seldom extended or renewed. It is hard to see on that basis how one can justify separating an official, an executive, a technician from his substantive work for a whole year - the normal minimum required for language training. Besides, just how proficient does the trainee become after a year? We all know that the ability to acquire skill in a new language diminishes as one grows older - so senior staff members would not take well to such training, which could hardly be made compulsory.

And to add to the problem, most of the areas are multilingual. Which of the several local dialects is to be taught? Finally, I was told, a western representative normally comes in direct contact only with the "évolué" elements of the population - and these speak a major western language.

In contrast with this estimate is that of Senator Jackson, well informed on the whole question, who considers that the West has, as he puts it, "lumbered along, emphasizing the Colonial Languages", a new term it seems. He appears to feel that African language programs should be developed in part to avoid using in Africa the languages of what he calls "the former governing nations".

This ignores, of course, the fact that Africans are frequently suspicious of westerners who learn the local language. They fear that this is an attempt to discourage them from learning a western language, to relegate them to stagnation, to deny them a chance to move up through the opportunities open to those who speak the language of a so-called 'former governing nation'.

To balance the opinion cited earlier, that of another American official should be mentioned. After one year at his post in Accra, he felt that inability to use a local language was a crippling handicap to anyone trying to work in Africa, and he expressed the hope that programs would be developed in this country so that Americans would acquire

some language proficiency before going to the field.

Regardless, then, of the complexity of this part of the problem, let us proceed on the basis that there is a real need for much more competence on the part of westerners in African languages; that realistic and effective programs can in fact be developed, and that the benefits accruing from such initiatives for Africans and westerners alike will fully warrant the efforts and costs involved.

What is to be the structure and the scope of such a program and what are the modalities of its development? Rather than make bold to answer this broad question, we may make more progress by raising a series of points which will serve in part to orient our discussion. I have listed 16.

1. Is a distinction to be made at the language training level between a program intended to teach those whose primary needs are for practical language competence on the one hand and a program aiming at scholarly formation on the other?

2. How many languages should we plan to introduce in the total program in, say, a period of five years as a start, whether for academic or practical aims? It seems to me that the list of 32 languages envisaged for Africa at the London meeting last spring is over-ambitious.

3. What criteria are to be used for the selection of a limited number of languages, and for their order of priority; that is, the schedule for phasing them into the program?

4. Should the language programs be introduced at the undergraduate or graduate level? It seems to me that the graduate level would be preferable.

5. From what sources and on what basis are trainees who are seeking practical competence to be selected for assignment to the courses?

6. If the suggested differentiation between academic and practical programs is valid, are the latter to be intensive courses?

7. How are the longer-range academic students to be attracted to the field of African languages and linguistics? From what sources are the funds for fellowship grants to be obtained? What progressive development should these curricula follow?

8. In respect to grants, would the proposed NATO-supported and sponsored fellowships, which have been considered in former meetings, present complications because of the military-political connotation of the sponsorship?

9. Should the approach in the several western countries concerned be strictly on a national basis, or should there rather be a wide base for exchange and cooperation among them?

10. Is the time opportune to consider the creation of broader active National Committees, affiliated with appropriate parent Professional Associations, and represented on some sort of International Committee?

11. What further measures should be taken to have an inventory and evaluation made of the teaching materials now available?

12. What procedure is to be followed to assure the early preparation of new, scientifically developed materials?

13. How many training and research centers should be established in this country initially, and in the next five-year period?

14. How is a division of labor among these centers to be determined assuming this to be sound?

15. How are the African teaching assistants to be selected for assignment; for how long, - and what training should they undergo during their assignment? How are their grants to be funded?

16. How can effective cooperation with African institutions be developed in respect to the selection of assistants and to facilitate field work for western students?

This list of points put in the form of questions does not obviously exhaust the subject. Its purpose is to assist in orienting and focusing our discussions, and in arriving at decisions.

It has become a hackneyed practice to point to the effort of the Communist Nations in various fields in order to stir ourselves into action. Initiatives in terms of planned and continuing action to meet our own carefully defined needs are to be preferred to belated reaction to match the other fellow's growing achievements.

We are reasonably aware of the broad and significant effort of linguistic circles in the Soviet Union, in Communist China, and in other Marxist countries, to cope with the challenge of language communication in those areas of the globe now undergoing rapid political change. Their activities are undoubtedly based on a realistic assessment of their needs in terms of their objectives. We cannot afford to do less.

PRESENT RESOURCES FOR THE TEACHING OF MAJOR AFRICAN LANGUAGES

William E. Welmers

It would be easy to paint a most pessimistic picture of our resources for teaching major African languages. At most, only about eight institutions in this country make any respectable profession of present facilities or reasonable prospects for teaching a limited amount of Swahili, Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, or a very few other languages. No existing program is so well established, so large, or so widely recognized for its leadership as to merit special listing in this company by name. Most of the institutions concerned have some awareness of what would be needed for sound expansion, but only a few of them seem to have a real potential for such expansion. The library facilities at the most promising institutions are by no means strong in African language materials, or even in African studies as a whole. And at present, there does not seem to be any sizable reservoir of competent personnel to staff programs that may desire to expand. Perhaps most serious of all, pedagogical materials of good quality, for the kind of semi-intensive teaching of a spoken language that is usually suggested, are virtually non-existent.

At the other extreme, it might be possible to paint a picture that would seem quite rosy. Give us a few advanced graduate students, release one or two descriptive linguists for full-time rather than spare-time work, and we could double our output almost overnight. For specifically the language side of the problem, a meager library is no serious deterent; much of a really complete library in African languages is little more than museum pieces anyway, and a day spent in library research may unearth only a few pages or a book or two that are really useful and helpful. If a teacher and a student sitting on a log make a school, then it may almost be said that a descriptive linguist and an informant sitting at a desk make an African language program. There is a sense in which, though our resources are limited, they really do not need to be enormous.

This is the natural point at which to observe that the truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. I would suggest instead that the truth may lie on a different axis. While expansion of material and academic resources may be badly needed, such expansion at the expense of linguistic qualifications and versatility would be a waste. While it would be very nice to have full-scale programs of instruction for perhaps twenty-five of the largest and most strategic languages of Africa, it would be a mistake to have them at the expense of all work on other languages. I want to suggest that our needs have not been adequately defined, and until they are it is difficult to assess our resources; for resources are supposed to fill a need.

I would first like to challenge the concept of so-called "major" languages. The study group on Asian and African languages, initiated

by the N. A. T. O. Parliamentarians' Conference, which met in London in May, 1959, listed thirty-two African languages for which, the participants believed, some provision should be made. In September, at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association in Boston, Professor Melville Herskovitz referred to that list with some scorn; he observed that none of the languages is comparable to any number of Asian languages in size or in importance as an official or national language, and he expressed the somewhat cynical impression that some of the languages may have been included because members of the study group had actually heard of them. Professor Herskovitz was not the only person who was astonished when I expressed almost complete agreement with his viewpoint. We have failed to recognize, I believe, that any such list of languages is bound to exclude a majority of the population of Africa south of the Sahara, and a preponderant majority of the population of several countries such as Liberia, the Ivory Coast, the Cameroun, and perhaps Mozambique. With the exception of Swahili and Hausa, no African language is likely to be the major vehicle of communication for the official work of American diplomatic, technical, or commercial personnel; hardly anyone other than a missionary seeks thorough competence in Bambara, Bulu, or Tswa. Yet even non-mission personnel are becoming increasingly convinced that some competence in African languages is a matter of major concern; and I would agree so vigorously that I would further insist that we should be interested in <u>any</u> African language, irrespective of its size or strategic importance on the national or international scene. This is the viewpoint of human communication -- the viewpoint of public relations, if you will. I have been accused of minimizing the importance of languages such as Swahili, and of being only "emotionally correct" in this attitude; but I cannot believe that emotional rectitude is necessarily in conflict with intellectual respectability.

In terms of established needs up to the present, there may be some surprises in store for the casual onlooker. To date, the major demand for instruction in African languages has come from missions. During the last five years, I have had some forty students who needed Lonkundo, fifteen or twenty in Kpelle, eight in Tiv, but only three in Swahili and one in Hausa. While this is in part attributable to language learning facilities on the field, it is also significant that the need for some work in "new" languages -- Gio, Bariba, Sisala, and the like -- has exceeded demands for Twi, Ewe, Yoruba, and Ibo combined. Now, if this were only the problem of missions, it might not be surprising. But requests I have received from other sources have involved Nandi, Luo, Acholi, and Ijo as frequently as Swahili, Hausa, and Yoruba. In short, developments that confine themselves to a list of allegedly "major" languages are going to be plagued with shortcomings. And I believe there is a practicable alternative.

I look forward to a program of African language research and teaching which would focus our resources not on specific languages but

on certain strategic locations in Africa. The program for one location might be quite different from the program for another, and the spacing of the chosen locations might seem strange, but I believe both the programs and the distribution could be made linguistically and ecologically realistic. A program centered in Tanganyika, for example, would undoubtedly include substantial if not technically intensive training in Swahili; but it should not ignore such other languages as Sukuma, Masai, and Luo. At the other extreme, a program involving Liberia would probably not include intensive training in any one language, but might include a substantial start in Kpelle plus a limited but conscientious introduction to Loma, Mano, Gio, Bassa, Kru, Gola, and Vai; three widely divergent language groups are represented, and a large number of languages none of which is predominant. In such a program, a major instructional concern would be descriptive linguistics, from the intensely practical viewpoint of teaching students how to learn a language, and with illustrative material taken almost exclusively from languages geographically near or genetically related to those to which the student will be exposed. The goal of such a program is not necessarily a high level of competence in one language, because the student will often find himself in a milieu of linguistic diversity. We might even define the desired competence as proportionate to the predominance or the political or commercial importance of the language: relatively high competence for Swahili and Hausa, somewhat lower competence for Bambara, Yoruba, Ibo, Twi, Kikongo, or Shona, and relatively low competence for a vast number of languages such as Kpelle, Senari, Tiv, Jukun, or Tswa. Near-native competence is by no means deplored or considered undesirable; but developing the ability to acquire a little competence in several languages, with a high degree of accuracy, is a parallel goal. In almost inverse proportion to the level of competence sought would be the thoroughness of training in technique: the technique of developing a sort of polyglottal flexibility. The result would be, ideally, students who could get along respectably in one language, who have a little start in two or three others, and who above all would not be afraid to tackle any new language even on their own. Such a program would, I believe, provide the maximum benefit to the largest number of people for whom some training is necessary.

Now, where do our resources fit into this picture of our needs? Our primary concern is not for an American language teacher who is completely fluent in this or that African language -- though we'll take such people if we can find them. Rather, our first concern is for descriptive linguists, experienced in field research and competent in the techniques of developing pedagogical materials. Closely associated with that need is the stipulation that, for maximum efficiency in the use of our resources, those who work in the field of African languages should be in constant contact with each other, cooperating in and coordinating their work in such a way that each can profit from the other's ideas and experience. In this respect, at least, I believe that our potential in this country is entirely satisfactory. We are virtually

beginning work in a field that is, academically, still small and tightly knit. For the foreseeable future, those of us who busy outselves about African languages and instructional materials will be all too happy to work in harmony rather than in competition.

This matter of coordination, seemingly perhaps little more than a question of sociability, deserves a bit of elaboration. The preparation of pedagogical materials for the languages of cultures far different from our own, and for languages whose structures include many features quite exotic in terms of western European languages, would seem to require new techniques and new treatments. The typical situation-centered language lesson may at least have to be supplemented by a variety of drill materials that are, by contrast, structure-centered: particularly drills to teach facility in handling tone contrasts with all their ramifications in the morphology of many languages. Certain types of drills have been the subject of experimentation in lesson materials for Kpelle, Mano, and Gio -- all Mande languages of Liberia, but representing two widely divergent sections of Mande -- as well as for Ewe, Jukun, and to a lesser extent Yoruba. For these languages, such drills are apparently highly successful, though attempts to apply the same drill techniques to Twi and Hausa have been less spectacular because of significant structural differences in the distribution of tones. Similarly, although the spade-work is not as far along, it is entirely reasonable to expect that other types of drills will be found useful in most Bantu languages and in the noun-class languages of West Africa, particularly the Gur languages. Experiments in appropriate drills have not been remarkably successful at this early date, but what will work for one language will probably also work for others with appropriate modifications. If this principle is valid, and I firmly believe it is, then an exchange of materials and ideas among specialists in African languages is much more than a mere comradeship in suffering or a professional society. It is a real means of producing good, practical results.

An additional factor that must be mentioned, and an important resource in itself, is the complex of cooperating personnel and valuable materials abroad. While I do not personally feel that the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London should be considered a substitute for an African language program in this country, I most assuredly look forward to increasing cross-fertilization with that institution. The same must be said for the superb descriptive work being done on Congo languages by our Belgian colleagues, the researches and resources of I. F. A. N., and most emphatically for the newly developing centers of African languages and linguistics in African universities. But I am particularly eager to point out, in addition to these relatively obvious parallel resources abroad, the increasing number of linguistically trained missionaries in Africa, and the existing materials which they produce, often in a single typewritten form or a few carbon copies. A few years ago an apparently competent missionary in the eastern

Congo prepared a textbook for Congo Swahili; I have not been able to see a copy, because his modest edition of 150 mimeographed copies was exhausted within a week. Similar work, sometimes less elaborate but often thoroughly reliable, exists or can be produced for a number of other languages; and the lonesome analysts are often crying for help or independent judgment in their work. Nor should they be blamed for not making their materials more generally available; even with my own academic connections, I have not been able to publish a number of reasonably useful collections of material on obscure languages. For our missionary colleagues, the provision of a few reels of recording tape alone is often enough to bring valuable material to a place where it can be made available to the public. An opportunity to publish small amounts of materials by an inexpensive multilith process may stimulate further analysis and production of pedagogical materials. Such materials, in turn, could then be put to use in further language training. It should be emphasized that, for our more restricted language-teaching programs, good tape recordings, prepared for pedagogical purposes, are often an adequate model for the student; they are certainly far better than nothing at all.

Thus, while our actual resources may seem to consist of less than a dozen trained linguists, few of them working full time on African languages, our potential and our indirectly available resources are far greater. In this country, we may mention (alphabetically and without grading them) Applegate, Armstrong, Greenberg, Hodge, Laessig, Leslau, Loogman, Stevick, Turner, Watkins, Welmers, and Wescott; but all of those named will agree that we do not as yet represent a powerhouse of African language instruction. However, I am persuaded that it is equally important to name names that will ring few bells of recognition in the academic world: Sadler, Mills, Samarin, Kraft, Beacham, Olson, and at least as many more who have produced less but who show equally great promise. These are sources of materials and of help that we must and can tap.

The problem, I believe, is to make the transition from our present status to that which our potential indicates is possible. A major step, as I see it, is to train some advanced graduate students of linguistics in the specific problems of African languages and in the existing traditions of analysis and pedagogy. A survey of African language relationships, the study of tonal analysis and the function of tone in language, studies in such topics as Bantu grammatical structure, training in the preparation of pedagogical materials, and specific work with two or more African languages, either on the field or with informants in this country, would be important aspects of such training. Simultaneously, the expansion of existing contacts between students of African languages in this country, as well as contacts with a variety of full-time and part-time linguists and field workers in Europe and particularly Africa, would make possible the efficient and organized deployment of our personal, published, and tape-recorded resources. There will also be

instances, no doubt, in which it would be wise to assign specific research projects to senior or junior linguists, to fill major gaps in our preparation.

Through a procedure such as this, I believe it is not visionary to expect that we will be able to give substantial instruction in a score or more of African languages, less but still respectable instruction in several dozen more, and -- given a few months' notice in each case -- at least a start in any language for which we can obtain an informant or linguistically sound recorded material from a trained worker on the field.

AFRICAN REACTION TO WESTERN EFFORTS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

A. E. Meeussen

Owing to lack of time in the preparation, this paper will reflect mainly my own limited experience and my own views, although I have tried to incorporate what I heard from others or read in publications; but I had no opportunity to make a proper study of the question.

When working in the field with little educated informants, the linguist soon finds interest and cooperation: the informant thinks it is the proper thing that someone should come and "write down the words of the language" used by his people, and record them for the future. In this connection, mention should be made of the fact that the informants in a good many cases brought the investigator to note down characteristics, mainly tonal, which would otherwise have escaped notice; this is testified in the introduction of several descriptions, and a "palmares" should be made, sooner or later, mentioning the names of such informants.

Educated Africans listening in or acting as informants have the same attitude as the others, but they will add questions about the queer script used, about the real aim of the investigation, and about how the work is being done. If the field worker, after answering those questions, tries to explain some of the results which are emerging, and to have the educated African as a collaborator, or if he encourages him to do some work on his language independently, then the answer is often this: "you rather go on with your work, and please give us a grammar (or dictionary) of our language; then we will join in". But at the same time the linguist hears some of the objections, orthographical and grammatical, that will be raised fully later.

After publication of the results, the attitude is mainly negative: there is no sign that anyone intends to do further work more or less in the lines followed by the linguist; moreover, his work is often rejected for several reasons.

The first of these is orthography, including word division. In general, Africans do not realize sufficiently that the more or less established spelling of their language is no more than a rather recent and arbitrary solution imposed by Europeans; moreover they rarely distinguish correctly between orthography and language: changing the spelling is spoiling the language. One example of this are the Rwanda proverbs by Coupez and Kamanzi, a publication which is entirely ignored by the Rwanda because of double vowel and conjunctive spelling, perhaps also because of the accents marking tone.

In grammar, there are tenacious objections against every term or classification which does not correspond closely to items in the grammar

of European languages. If the linguist, assuming that such terms can be used with a more or less general value, finds that there are no "adjectives" in the language, as is the case in Mongo, or no "relative pronoun," or that the "personal pronoun" is tied up with other forms into a larger set for which another term is needed, then the African feels frustrated, as if the linguist were assigning a lower rank to the African language. Again, if certain parts of words correspond to words in the European language, e.g. a preradical (object) prefix in verbs corresponding to pronouns in French, then the African will insist on calling these prefixes pronouns, and he will tend to reject any other presentation. A less clear case is that of two word tenses; if the linguist adopts a system in which morphology and syntax are distinct parts of the description, and consequently relegates two word tenses to syntax, then the African is likely not only to stress the unity of conjugation, but also to reject the other approach. Here the attitude appears to be conditioned by an appreciation of meaning.

An extreme form of reaction has been noted recently in Burundi. The outspoken part of it was: "this is one of the things - making a study of our language - which we are going to do ourselves; in the meantime, let us look at this linguist's work, because one can always learn something from his opponent." The implied idea appears to be that African languages cannot properly be studied by Europeans. Such an attitude can be understood if one remembers how Europeans used to exert their authority in language matters.

Another form of reaction is seen when Africans start to work on their own language. There is the late Letele's work on Suthu, well done, and not dependent on the views of his promoter. In East Africa Mr. Kopoka did personal work on Swahili (but I heard teachers do not accept this African approach...). In the Congo Fr. Malongo gave a (dictionary and) grammar of Lingala, which is correct and richly exemplified, but diluted and full of anticipations (half of the grammar is put before the reader in the form of an explanation of sound relationships). What the African seems to appreciate most can be seen in a work like Fr. Gusimana's on Mbala: bilingual texts or sentences grouped around "centres d'intérêt".

There is one domain in which no difficulties arise: a rich and full dictionary is accepted even if given with indication of vowel length, with tone marks and phonetic symbols. It would seem that the working factor here is, at least in part, the practical value of a tool for learning the European language.

The following is an example of negative reaction which deserves full attention: J. KYAGAMBIDDWA's African music from the sources of the Nile, New York (first published in Gr. Br. 1956), pp. 237-247. This chapter, "Some observations on Luganda," contains criticisms on Professor Tucker's spelling proposals for Ganda, particularly double

vowel for length, and use of /ɔ/. On analyzing these criticisms the following points emerge. (1) The author never says: "we just will not admit any phonetic sign and that is all". He does not seem to be aware of the fact that it is far better policy for him simply to assert that strong preference than to give unconvincing arguments. (2) The activity of former Ganda grammarians is accorded full attention, and the recent date of the European initiative is stressed. (3) No mention is made of the International African Institute's alphabet (: "his" symbols). (4) Here again, spelling proposals are referred to as attempts "to reform the Luganda grammar". (5) The example of the deficient orthography of a European language is taken as an argument; the African's view could be explicitated to mean that it is worse to change things and introduce unfamiliar symbols now than not to have an ideal orthography. European linguists generally pay little attention to this view.

In certain linguistic communities (simple or complex) there is lack of unity, either in the language itself, or in its literary form, (or its orthography). Unification has often been tried, but mostly without success: I may mention Ibo, Shona, Kongo, Rwanda and Rundi. Unfortunately, in most of these cases the Europeans started from the assumption that it is possible to arrive at a "union" form of a language by blending forms of all dialects into a grammar, a dictionary, or even a few sample texts. A development in the other direction can perhaps be seen in Tetela. In that area there are two slightly different forms of the language in use as a means of mission and school education, each having its orthographic peculiarities. Professor Jacobs (Elisabethville), who had done intensive field work (about five years) in the Tetela area, was asked by the Government to try to find a solution, and the project he set up seems to come to a successful close. It is important to note the factors which called forth a seemingly favourable reaction. The first was presence, contacts, diplomacy, and patience: Jacobs stayed on in the area, in a place which was nearly exactly in between the chief missions of each of the confessions, and went round to talk to as many persons as he could; he never tried to push through a decision whenever he felt reluctance; he was prepared to all concessions, including that which he personally disliked (e.g. inconsistencies). Secondly, he drew up texts exposing the "new way" (orthography and choice of dialect), lists, spelling vocabularies, and samples for school books, so that the orthography was presented not merely in one short theoretical pamphlet. The result is surprising: not only was an agreement reached, but it included admission of /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, and the use of /c/ and /j/ (instead of /tsh/ and /dj/). Of course, since the project is not yet in full operation, the real issue is to be awaited.

In conclusion we may say that African reactions are reasonable, although there is often a strong emotional and negative note as a result of the wellknown European attitude in general, and a lack of realism, even now, on the side of some spelling reformers. But it is due also to the absence of any real linguistic training in the African's education,

worse than with the average European; Mr. Kamanzi of Irsac, Astrida, who has something of such a training, one day said in a government conference: "I learned French grammar twice: first in the French lessons, and then in the Rwanda lessons".

THE RELATION OF A WEST AFRICAN LINGUISTIC SURVEY TO THE TEACHING OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Joseph H. Greenberg

This is not a talk in the sense that it is something which has been typed out and can be read as it is. It is rather a number of successive statements which I will often pause to amplify. Specifically, I want to discuss the genesis and history of what is now the West African Languages Survey; then, I want to describe the main features of this enterprise as it is presently envisaged since it is, in a sense, just about to begin; and finally, I want to consider the relation of this survey to the main topic of this Conference.

May I say that I was very encouraged by this morning's discussion since point after point made by various speakers seemed to take a very wide view of the problem of African languages in this country. The discussion often mentioned matters which figure very prominently in the WAL Survey and which are not with great immediacy attached to the problem of teaching African languages in this country. These matters are, I believe, a part of the total picture which will be very important ultimately in developing our competence in this area.

The first point I have here: The project from which the WAL Survey ultimately arose was one first broached by P. D. Strevins for a linguistic survey of the Gold Coast as it was then called in 1954. The emphasis here was on the interdisciplinary aspects and the value which a greater knowledge of Gold Coast languages could render to historians, folklorists, ethnologists, and other scientists. This local interest in Ghana has continued: particularly the inter disciplinary aspect and John Fage, a Ghana historian who has now gone to London, has been instrumental in developing a local plan for action on the linguistic front which is meant to dovetail with and be connected to the projected survey.

At a meeting of the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research in 1955, John Uldall, then at Ibadan University College, initiated the extension of the Gold Coast Language Survey into a projected survey of West Africa as a whole. A council was organized at this meeting with representatives of the three university colleges of West Africa: Ibadan, Achimota, and Fourah Bay and a representative from the Institute Francaise d'Afrique Noire at Dakar. I was elected chairman in absentia, - I could not attend because of transportation difficulties. Subsequently, while still in Nigeria, I discussed the problem of such a survey with Professor Uldall at Zaria. The Ford Foundation expressed serious interest in an over-all plan of this kind and the consideration of this matter ultimately came under their overseas development program.

The next point: In view of the interest of the Ford Foundation and in order to discuss new problems which had arisen in the actual implementation of the survey under these auspices, a second council meeting was held at Ibadan in December, 1957. At this meeting the most important new decision was the general agreement that both in order to assure continuity and direction of linguistic work and to develop scientific linguistics as a discipline in West African institutions, there should be a resident director at one or more of these West African institutions.

The next point: This latter decision led to considerable discussion and negotiation with the institutions concerned regarding such matters as the courses which might be taught, the academic status of visiting professors, and such practical matters as housing and the like. All of these institutions showed a willingness and eagerness to cooperate in this matter and, most important, to continue linguistics and build it up on a long term basis once initial help had been provided. Ultimately, in February of 1960, the Ford Foundation approved a three year project at Columbia with a grant of $180,000.

If we extract this from the various documents dealing with the present survey, one might say the following: The stated objectives of the West African Languages Survey as now constituted are as follows:

1. The increase of our knowledge of West African languages. In accordance with this the survey will support three main types of undertakings - A. Regional surveys which will shed light on the distribution of languages and dialects; B. Comparative historical studies on a restricted basis which go hand in hand with field study of the languages concerned; C. More extensive descriptive and lexical studies of important but somewhat neglected languages. These are the so-called second-rank languages. I think a reasonable example of that would be a language like Nupe in Nigeria as opposed to languages like Yoruba or Hausa.

2. The strengthening of universities and research centers in West Africa as repositories of knowledge and centers for the study of West African Languages.

3. The training of Africans in linguistic work.

4. The training of American and other outside specialists in African linguistic research.

5. Aid and guidance to educational programs, particularly the teaching of English or French as a second language in West Africa.

6. The strengthening of the intelligent appreciation of African languages as a part of African cultures.

In order to accomplish these purposes, the main categories of activity under the program are as follows:

1. The appointment of a full-time field director at an African Institution for each of three years, probably one year each at Ibadan, Legon (formerly Achimota,) and Dakar. This director would initiate courses in linguistics at these institutions, train Africans in linguistic techniques, and conduct and supervise field research.

2. A program of one-year fellowships for field research.

3. Grants-in-aid for research which could be utilized at institutions in West Africa or elsewhere.

4. Funds for publishing linguistic results of the survey and for the reproduction and archiving of unpublished linguistic materials. This would include not only the actual results of field work but also the reproduction in usable form of the very large number of useful documents which, more or less, circulate sub-rosa such as the very large output of missions and missionary activity which has been referred to earlier.

5. Annual conferences providing an opportunity for contacts among isolated linguistic researchers in West Africa along with and incidental to meetings of the council. Meetings of this kind would have a tremendous stimulus value and would also provide a very important educational mechanism in linguistics for those who are already working very much on their own.

Now, a general consideration of the activities of the survey as projected here to the problem of African languages in the United States. While the purposes of the survey do not include the teaching of African languages, the program will make a contribution to this purpose. The training of linguists is like long term capital investment. The experience of the last war showed that linguists could be pressed into service to work in areas in which they had no previous acquaintance, but it is clearly preferable to have a number of general linguists with Africa as their area of interest. Moreover, if they are trained for other areas, there will likely be pressure for them to continue their work in their original area of specialization; that is, there are other demands besides those for Africa.

Further, the strengthening of West African institutions in linguistic matters will mean that they will be able to offer facilities in the teaching of languages indigenous to their territory. The existence of such competence in West Africa would be useful in the over-all situation. For example, if Americans had to learn some particular language for which there were no facilities available in the United States, they would be able to learn it on the spot and this, in a way, would be better since

they would likewise be familiarizing themselves with the general situation in an area close to the area in which they were going to work. The strengthening of linguistics as a science in West Africa will increase West African competence in the teaching of Western languages. This will in turn help the communication problem which is, after all, the main point at issue. It isn't just a question of talking to people; there are all sorts of situations in which the knowing of an African language by an American or European is very important.

I will sum up the relation between this projected survey and the problem of African languages in the United States by saying this: In general there is supplementation, not competition here. Although modest in financial scope as compared to governmental efforts, its flexibility (in that it is not tied to a congressional act or some specific term of reference) and its somewhat different ultimate aims can make a contribution to the overall problems relating to African language competence in the United States.

SOME PROBLEMS OF MORPHEMIC BOUNDARIES (WORD DIVISION) IN THE WRITING OF KISWAHILI

M. H. Watkins

In the material presented below I am concerned with word boundaries of intra-word morphemes. The materials presented differ from the traditional form of transcribing Kiswahili only in the respect that I have marked the syllabic nasals. What I propose to do here in this short time is to examine some cases in which the traditional way of writing the language divides the words correctly on the basis of the morphology and in some other cases does not divide them properly. There is only one case where I have separated forms which are normally written as a unit. In all other cases I have united forms into one word. On the left side are the conventional forms. On the right I have either agreed by saying "same" or I have changed it as indicated.

It would appear because you separate the items in English, as a village tree or tree of the village that the separation has been carried over into the orthography of Kiswahili and translated as of rather than identifying it as a syntatic function. So that these divisions, the traditional forms of dividing words of Swahili, seem likely to have been influenced by the division of words in English or by how these expressions can be classed in English rather than on the basis of a structural analysis of the language.

(Note that /e/ is open e /o/ is open o)

1. -a 'of'.	-a- 'concordance-linking prefix'.
m̀ti wangu 'my tree'.	Same.
m̀ti weñewe < waeñewe 'tree itself, very tree'.	Same.
m̀ti wa kwanza 'first tree'.	wakwanza.
m̀ti wa ḿji 'village tree'.	waḿji.
m̀ti wa ńne 'fourth tree'.	wańne.
m̀ti m̀moja 'one tree'.	Same.
miti mí̀nne 'four trees'.	Same.
mahali pá̀nne 'four places'.	Same.
mahali pa ńne 'fourth place'.	pańne.

kisiwa ča kupendeza 'pleasing island'. — čakupendeza.

misiba ya kutoša 'misfortunes enough'. — yakutoša.

mahali pazuri 'nice place'. — Same.

mahali pa hatari 'dangerous place'. — pahatari.

alikwenda m̀jini kwa m̀falme — kwam̀falme.

'He went to the chief's village'.

kusoma kwao 'their reading'. — Same.

kwa nini 'Why?' — kwanini (?)

watoto wanaandika kwa wino — Same (?)

'The children are writing with ink'.

kata ñama kwa kisu 'Cut the meat with a knife'. — Same (?)

utaweza kukinunua kwa šilingi mbili — Same (?)

'Thou wilt be able to buy it (Cl. 4) for two shillings'.

čini ya mti 'under the tree'. — yamti.

juu ya m̀lima 'on the hill'. — yam̀lima.

huna nguvu juu yangu 'Thou hast no power over me'. — Same.

-a ńje 'outside'. — ńje 'externality'. (Noun, Cl. 5.)

ǹje ya mji 'outside the village'. — yamji.

kwa ńje 'outwardly, on the outside'. — kwańje.

2. 'I am', etc. — 'concordances'.

ni	tu	ni-	tu-
u	m̀	u-	m̀-
yu	wa	yu-	wa-

u m̀gonjwa 'Thou art ill'. um̀gonjwa.

yu tayari ' He is ready'. yutayari.

nilikuwa m̀gonjwa 'I was ill'. Same.

ni m̀gonjwa tangu januari
'I have been ill since January'. nim̀gonjwa ...

m̀ nani 'Who are ye'? m̀nani.

kisu čako kikubwa 'Thy knife
is large, Thy large knife'. Same. (No verb form.)

jina lako nani 'What is thy name'? Same. (No verb form.)

ni m̀zima 'I am well'. nim̀zima. (No verb form.)

'I have', etc. 'I with', etc. (No verb.)

nina tuna

una ḿna Same forms.

ana, (yuna) wana

lete čai na maziwa 'Bring tea and milk'. Same.

atakwenda nawe 'He will go with thee'. Same.

kalamu ina mwalimu 'The pencil is with the teacher'. Same.

yupo pamoja nasi 'She is here with us'. Same. (No verb form.)

3. ko kote 'anywhere, wherever'. kokote.

po pote " " popote.

mo mote " " momote.

kotekote, kote kote 'everywhere'. kotekote.

polepole 'slowly, quietly'. Same.

pale pale 'precisely there'. palepale (?)

papa hapa 'precisely here'. Same (?)

huko na huko 'here and there'. Same.

huko ñuma 'meanwhile, to resume, ...' Same.

watu wabaya wataondoka ñuma yangu Same.
'Bad people will come after me (in time or place)'.

mambo ya ñuma 'future, subsequent(ly)'. yañuma.

4. siku zote alizokaa hapa Same.
'All the days he stayed here'.

ana matata sikuzote siku zote.
'He is always troublesome'.

5. ni 'is, are'. 'copula'.

'It is I', etc.

ndimi ndisi

ndiwe ndiñi Same forms.

ndiye ndio

ama ni wewe ama ni ndugu yako Same.
'Either it is thou or thy sibling'.

si 'adv. of negation, ...' 'negative of ni'.

si- 'prefix'. 'concordance in negative'.

wao si watumwa 'They are not slaves'. Same.

sisemi kiswahili ' I do not speak Swahili'. Same.

A SAMPLE FORMAT FOR A TEACHING UNIT IN HAUSA

Carleton T. Hodge

"My teachings are sufficient for every purpose. To reject my teachings and think for oneself is like rejecting the harvest and picking up individual grains. To try to refute my words with one's own words, is like throwing eggs at a rock. One may use up all the eggs in the world but the rock remains the same for it is invulnerable." These ancient Chinese words represent the popular notion of a linguist's outlook on language teaching. I wish it were so. That is, I wish we did have the answer as to exactly how languages should be taught. We have however, been teaching languages and the practical experience gained has led to the reappraisal of language teaching methods in general, not only here in the United States but also to some extent abroad. The linguistic approach has given a new look to both aspects of language teaching. That is, what to teach and how to teach it.

The existence of standard dialects used by mutual consent over large areas led earlier teachers to equate the language with the written form of the standard dialect. Linguistics, as it was primarily concerned with language as speech, devoted itself generally to spoken varieties of language. There has recently been a reappraisal of the scope which each language covers. It amounts to the more than tacit recognition on the part of the linguist, of the validity of all styles of a given language and the fact that they must be treated as a whole. The formal or literary style, so dear to the heart of the traditionalist is thus received back into the fold but put, we trust, in proper perspective.

The second aspect, how to teach, is undergoing rapid change. Two elements of a typical unit of teaching material remain fairly static. One, a basic core of new material to be drilled orally. Two, grammatical drills to make the possible permutations second nature to the student. The precise form of these drills varies greatly, but many traditional patterns are used. The linguist has a golden opportunity in the grammatical notes to reanalyze the language and to strike out along bold new lines. This is seldom done for there has not been time for the fresh analysis necessary. In most cases, minor advances, particularly in phonology, have been made.

Now what is the situation with regard to African languages specifically? Very few courses have been written with the modern view in mind. There is no reason whatever why courses along the line of those now in use for Arabic, Bulgarian, Czech, French, German, Spanish and others should not be devised for African languages. The same type of linguistic situations exist. There are standard languages, in some cases, such as Hausa and Swahili. There is no appreciable difference between devising a course for French and a course for Hausa. This refers to the form of the course and not the relative ease of preparing it.

The literary tradition of France has given its speakers a certain facility for writing which is a great asset for the linguist preparing the course. The Hausa with the same facility is rare, at least in my limited experience. There are, on the other hand, the vast majority of African languages where different dialects exist without one being generally accepted by the others as a standard.

A European view of this situation is well represented by Sever Pop's remarks in his Dialectologie concerning Pere DuBois' study of Bantu dialect geography. "The author recognizes from the beginning that it is impossible to apply the same principles of investigation in Africa as are practiced in Europe. In Africa, there are no languages of culture: there exist only hundreds of speech communities 'parles' which, although one cannot give them the name 'dialects', since they are not opposed to a language of Culture, exist under the same linguistic conditions as the dialects spoken in Europe. Each grammar and each dictionary could only describe idioms which are found under the same linguistic conditions as the dialects of Europe. One could say then, with certain reservations, in African linguistics, the dictionaries and the grammars are as much dialect studies as they are anything else."

The American linguist would phrase this somewhat differently. The language of Culture is irrelevant as in our view all languages are languages of culture, with a lower case "c". The problem is whether any one language or dialect is useful beyond its own linguistic borders. Where there are apparently a number of dialects of a language or a number of closely related languages with no single one predominating, each must be eventually studied, though one may be arbitrarily chosen for more thorough investigation. The choice of what to teach is decided on the purely pragmatic principle of what is used. The how to teach remains the same. With this brief introduction, I would like to describe some of our basic course materials. They represent the beginning of a series of materials desired by the Office of Education. This series will contain a basic course, a reader, a dictionary, a reference grammar, and so on. At the risk of being obvious to this audience, I shall say a few words about each part.

The Basic Sentences are written by a speaker of the language and represent ordinary speech being brief dialogues. In Hausa, the basic sentences of each unit are made up of several very brief dialogues. In most courses, a single long dialogue is used for each unit; or in some, a dialogue is followed by sentences illustrating particular grammatical features. The Hausa dialogues are given in official orthography as far as the typewriter would permit. I have no objection to the official orthography. I just could not follow it with the means at hand. Where there is a segmental phonemic difference between orthography and pronunciation, a phonemic spelling of the latter is added after the stem.

Four features are not represented by the traditional orthography: stress, vowel length, tone, and phrase pitch patterns. Stress has not been treated as phonemic in the analysis underlying these units and has been omitted. If reanalysis proves it phonemic, then it should be added of course. Vowel length is shown by a macron and tone is indicated by a grave accent. High tone is left unmarked. The reason for marking low tone is a purely practical one. There are more high tones than low tones so that you have fewer diacritics if you mark low tones. As there are only two phonemic tones only one need be marked. The additional symbols needed for vowel length and tone have been added above the ordinary spelling, not directly on it. The accent marks are not on the vowel as they would be in an ordinary phonemic transcription but they are raised above so that you might even put a piece of paper over it and have the standard orthography. The purpose is to have the information at hand but to accustom the student to react to the undoctored spelling. He should learn to speak the language and to associate this speech with the insufficient symbols actually used. There is then a compromise between tradition and innovation. The speaker used to the orthography is not offended and the student who needs the information is not ignored.

Now the choice of basic sentence material depends upon the purpose of the course. Here very general and everyday expressions and conversations are used. The Basic Sentence section of each unit should be kept short and easily memorizable. The next section in both units consists of notes giving grammatical data.

The student must be able to pronounce in order to memorize. We have a note on the spelling, on the vowels, and on the tone. There is some detail on the tone since although there are only two phonemic tones, you have about five levels phonetically as was recognized many years ago. Then there is some data on the consonants. A complete statement on pronunciation is not given: instead, enough data is presented to enable the student to meet the most difficult problems, to hear tone, to recognize glottalized consonants, and so on. Other matters may be taken up in detail later. It so happens that Hausa is not overly difficult for an English speaker to learn to pronounce.

For a language of considerable phonetic difficulty, the straightforward approach, the use of regular conversational materials should not be used. A preliminary unit or units on pronunciation alone using individual words in many and varied drills should be made. These would resemble the drills used for grammar. In languages where tone plays a much greater role than in Hausa, more minimal pairs are found and must be drilled as having a greater functional load: whether this be lexical or grammatical.

A minor point but one I believe worth mentioning is the source for the words used in the phonetic drills. Whenever possible, these should be drawn from the vocabulary of the course itself. This limits

the words to common items and their drill for pronunciation purposes will facilitate their assimilation later. The inclusion of rare items or words of local usage for purely illustrative purposes should be avoided at the early stages of teaching. All pronunciation drills should be glossed and, as soon as possible, sufficient grammatical information should be given to enable the student to begin the process of substitution within patterns.

Basic sentences must be natural, normal speech. They are not artificially constructed to limit either vocabulary or grammatical forms. They are relatively short simple sentences but they are not graded in the ordinary sense. I may add that these texts are for adults. For children, or for special purposes, a more graded type of presentation may be preferable. Only some of the constructions used may be explained at any given time. Only so much may be assimilated by the student who, therefore, drills well the forms which are explained. At the same time he is able to say certain things beyond his knowledge of the grammar simply by virtue of the fact that he has memorized examples of them. You should also drill whatever is culturally most relevant. You might have a sentence which might be grammatically correct and could be drilled but it wouldn't make sense. In Hausa for example, we omit "He cooked meat" and drill only "She cooked meat.".

I could have spoken about units in Turkish or Bulgarian. There is no reason for a different approach to the learning of Hausa, Swahili, or Amharic than for the languages ordinarily taught. This does not imply that all African languages may be taught just this way. To put it another way, it does not imply that it is possible to construct units of this sort in every African language. I recognize the extreme difficulty of getting non-Westernized speakers to construct basic sentences and drills of the nature needed. It may be that the linguist must resort to reducing candid recordings to writing to supply the dialogue. This would be restrictive to say the least. It may be the linguist must content himself with isolated sentences in lieu of dialogues when first constructing a course. The basic ingredients however remain the same. Perhaps something should be said as to the use of this material but on the other hand, this may all be obvious. I shall therefore yield and will endeavor to answer any questions along these lines in the discussion period.

LINGUISTIC RESEARCH AS PEDAGOGICAL SUPPORT

K. L. Pike

Pedagogical materials, to be most effective and efficient, need to be based on fact. The facts which are needed are of two kinds: (a) empirical observations of data in the area concerned, and (b) theoretical understanding of the system within which these facts make some sense.

If pedagogical materials are prepared without adequate regard to careful empirical data, people will be taught to reach pseudo-solutions which do not grip reality. If, on the other hand, they are taught without reference to a general framework of theory, there will be insufficient stimulus generalization from the particular problems solved as part of the classroom procedure to fit new situations not covered in the classroom. One wishes to have the particular materials treated in the classroom serve as typical of a much larger area of difficulty for the students. Hence the materials taught as exemplary must in fact match some of the kinds of problems he will face and, in addition, must be within a generalizable framework which allows their applicability to spread beyond the particular items taught.

Three areas interest me in which linguistic research makes more efficient pedagogical materials. (1) Courses in general linguistics--phonetics, phonemics, morphology, syntax, semantics. (2) Courses in which some one particular language is taught. (3) Introduction to interrelationships between language and culture. We will suggest ways in which linguistic research can contribute to each of these areas.

COURSES IN GENERAL LINGUISTICS

It is in the area of general linguistics that it is most evident that theory must accompany empirical data. No one course can use more than a small sample of empirical data, yet students must be prepared to face any one of some thousands of languages after taking these materials. With this in mind, a research program is most effective in building background materials for such a course if it meets two conditions: (a) Its empirical sample of starting data must come from as wide a diversity of languages as possible. To whatever degree it is possible the research scholar must find the range of sounds which are discoverable in all languages--with a judicious sampling of geographical areas in the hopes that these will also represent a sampling of linguistic diversity. (b) Starting from the empirical limits suggested by the sample, the research scholar must then set out by deliberate design to extrapolate from the separate sample matters to fill in a systematic pattern of the probable range of human possibility in the discipline under discussion.

For phonetics, this means that one samples or checks samples that others have gathered from Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the Americas. This has been done by scholars in past decades and generations. On the basis of this material, as a next step, some years ago I attempted to exhaust the possibilities of sound production by the human voice. This was done by generalizing on the productive mechanisms of the voice which were needed to explain the actual sound in the starting sample. By using simple concepts of vocal variables in terms of articulatory movements of lips, tongue, vocal cords and the like, plus the variables of air stream direction (ingressive or egressive), plus variables of simultaneity and sequence of these moving parts, a speculative framework was developed which in fact has served very well when engineered down to the classroom level. We have used it for successive classes of students with good results. (See my Phonetics, University of Michigan Press, 1943). It is only occasionally that this initial framework has had to be modified under the impact of newly discovered sounds. For example, three years ago in Peru, in the Cocama of the Tupi-Guarani family, I found that there was a pattern of five native vowels. Four of these were high, and one was low /a/. The high four were divided into front and back, rounded and unrounded. The front rounded vowel, however, was not rounded by the lips, but by a grooved tongue which performed the same structural pattern as lip rounding might do in some other languages. (See Norma Faust, in Publicacões Avulsas do Museu Nacional [Brazil], Série Lingüistico Especial I, 1959). This seemed to be related to the "inner rounding" which had been discussed in earlier decades by European linguists, but which had not been stated in such a way that I was able to work it into my thinking earlier. Similarly, the matrix has to be expanded to allow for a flap of the lower lip against the teeth, rather than flaps by the tongue tip alone. Also, interlabial position must allow for a tongue-tip interlabial as found, for example, in some allophones of a t phoneme in the Amuzgo of Mexico. Yet these details do not weaken the value of the basic structural framework which has served as well for a decade and a half.

More important, now, is the observation that that earlier framework was not designed to exhaust movements of the vocal cords. Too little research had been done in vocal cord movement to give the physiology of changes, even when some of the sounds were given general "imitation label" terms such as trillization or laryngealization. This gap--the half-inch gap of knowledge at the vocal cords--is now being explored in a systematic way by May Morrison at the University of Michigan and we trust will soon be available. The gap in terms of satisfactory material below the vocal cords--action of the muscles of the chest or abdomen--has only been partially filled by Stetson, and some of his work is open to question. Studies in Edinburgh by Peter Ladefoged and others may help us extend the framework downwards.

Now, we turn to an utterly different kind of research necessity from those mentioned so far. Whereas above we wanted empirical research generalized to give a basic framework of possibilities of detail, we now need to get similar empirical and theoretical attacks on the problem of structural pattern. This in some senses is much more difficult. Patterns differ so widely, and the details of available sound types are arranged in such a bewildering variety of patterns, that the pedagog cannot warn of all those to be encountered. He can give general pictures of structures as Hockett has done (A Manual of Phonology, Memoir 11 of the International Journal of American Linguistics, 1955). Yet even this is insufficient here. Rather, the research scholar must give the pedagog some suggestion as to the variety of analytical methods which will allow the student to arrive at a satisfactory recognition of pattern when he meets it. This, in turn brings its own difficulties. Pattern is so diverse that no rigorous, mechanical procedure will allow pattern to be discovered. Rather, the student must be taught to glance at data, to guess as to possible relevant characteristics of the data--such as conditioned variants of sounds--and to test the hypothesis by a very rigorous checking procedure by which he studies sound types in varieties of environment. No mechanical procedure can be handled without enormous--infinite--testing steps. Thus the student must be taught how to set up an hypothesis by some such rule-of-thumb as that indicated here, or he will fail to reach useful conclusions.

We note two kinds of generalization, then. In the first the generalization is in terms of abstracted bits of data and the possibilities there of. The second is rather generalization in terms of techniques of hypothesis formation so that these postulated structures may be checked against the specific data. Here, also, in the phonological realm we have given a sample of the way this can be handled (Phonemics, 1947).

In the morphological realm it is very useful to attempt samples of affixual items found around the world--in a manner comparable to that of hunting up variety of sounds. Nida has provided this for us (Morphology, Second Edition, 1959).

The kind of approach to structure (especially syntactic, but also morphological) which is analogous to our hypothesis technique in phonemics has been developed in relation to tagmemic theory. Pedagogical development of this is being shown in a text by Elson and Pickett due in 1960. The theoretical materials, on the other hand, can be found in my Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (Volumes I, II, III, in 1954, 1955, 1960).

Returning, furthermore, to the problem of generalization, the research theoretician can aid the general linguist if he points out to him the way in which all of these materials can enter a single theoretical framework. This we have attempted to do in the last study mentioned, by pointing out for each of them the relevance (a) of identificational-

contrastive features (simultaneous components), (b) of variants (allo-units), and (c) of distributional relationships or components. By studying each linguistic unit from a single viewpoint such as that, the student integrates his work in a way which cannot be done if the pedagogy of each part of linguistics is treated as if it were unrelated to other parts.

In semantic study similar correlations can be made. Some of the best of this material has been given us by Nida ("A System for the Description of Semantic Elements", Word, 7, 1-14, 1951); he points out the nature of allo-units. On the other hand, the problem of identificational-contrastive features analogous to those mentioned above can best be seen in work of Lounsbury and of Goodenough (both publishing in Language, 1956). Distributional components of meaning are, in turn, emphasized by Harris (Methods in Structural Linguistics, 1951).

COURSES IN A PARTICULAR LANGUAGE

Turning from courses in general linguistics to the discussion of courses teaching a particular language, we find that the research contribution to pedagogical materials is somewhat different to that given for courses in general linguistics.

Here, for a particular language, there is again a problem of specific, empirical data which the students must get as sample, and the correlative need of stimulus generalization of some type. But the generalization which is needed is not from one language to another, nor from a general system to a particular analytical problem. Rather, the generalization needed is from a particular set of sentences to a model of such sentences, to the generation of acceptable sentences which the student has in fact never heard. The student needs, in other words, (a) sample sentences, (b) models of some type which imply generation of other sentences, and (c) illustrations of how the model leads to the productive use of language.

Emphasis upon the need for linguistic analysis to include the productive nature of language has been given clearly by Wonderly (Zoque I: Introduction and Bibliography, IJAL, Vol. 17, 1951, p. 3). More recently, the same emphasis has been given by Chomsky under the term of generation of sentences, rather than of productive control of language (Syntactic Structures, 1957). Under whatever term, the student must be given by the research scholar material which will allow him to be freed from the necessity of memorizing every sentence separately.

It should be clear that the closer the analyst is able to come to providing charts or formulas which predict sentences which in fact are acceptable once produced, the more useful his contribution will be. It is, therefore, an unending goal to try to increase the research techniques

for analyzing a particular language with a higher and higher degree of predictive accuracy.

Since, furthermore, the student is not interested just in creating sentences which are correct, but is also interested in making up sentences which say something, it is necessary that the generating formulas be identified not merely as being correct formulas, but that they be keyed into their semantic function.

It is not sufficient, for example, to know that a generalization on the sample John hit Bill and a generalization on the sample Bill was hit by John are both in good taste. It must also be known to the student that in the one sample the first word is the person doing the acting, and that in the other he is the person who is the object of the action.

For such purposes, in the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, we have found the most useful grammatical generalization to be that of tagmemics. In this approach to language structure the "grammatical quantum" is a unit which has among its characteristics a functional part to play in a higher level structure--so that we call it a slot in that larger structure--and in addition has as a component a class of words or phrases appropriate to that slot. The combination of functional slot plus appropriate class characterizes the tagmemic unit. The functional slot, in turn, may have as one of its components a semantic load which is observable by the analyst. It is at this point then that two important characteristics are provided the pedagog--the slot and its functional load, that is the "structural meaning" of a unit, and the class of items which serve as appropriate drill materials in substitution tables.

In addition, the linguistic analyst is able to tell the "pedagogical engineer" that his task of presenting the structure to the student is finished when all the tagmemic formulas have been appropriately treated.

Appropriate treatment, in turn, can be defined for the pedagogical engineer in terms of a further generalization: The student must have enough syntagmemes--constructions made up of tagmemes--early in the lesson plan to allow him to have a small discourse. Yet it is not at all necessary that the early lessons include each such construction in its most elaborate form. Rather, a construction--a syntagmeme--may be introduced in its minimum form, containing only obligatory parts. Tagmemics as it is developing takes pains to keep these obligatory versus optional tagmemes clearly in view, and hence serves this purpose directly. Once the student has an initial structure of a discourse in this simple form so that he can utilize the language in a small way, in a particular social situation, each syntagmeme can then be expanded systematically with the optional tagmemes added in further exercises.

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

When one wishes to prepare research materials as a background for pedagogical materials to get students to be interested in the relationships between language and culture, one would like to profit from the lessons gained in the preparations of pedagogical materials in language learning and in general linguistics. It should now be evident that the requirements are at least three: (a) some kind of high-level generalizations which allow one to meet and gather strange data; (b) some way of finding the structure of a pattern new to one through a generalized glance-guess-test approach, and (c) some type of generalization which will allow one not only to recognize pattern but to predict satisfactory generation of activity (that is, to tell how to "fit into a community").

An enormous mass of cultural material is available in the textbooks on anthropology. The gathering of ethnological data in the past generation has been widespread, intensive, and successful. This material should continue to be useful as fulfilling the first requirement mentioned above.

There seems to be less material available to provide analytical generalization which will tell the student how to recognize pattern. There are, to be sure, lists of questions for data to be obtained, but this is relevant to the first point mentioned, rather than to the recognition of pattern. My own feeling is that we can develop research frameworks which would allow the pedagog to prepare analytical methodology which would lead one more directly into pattern analysis than we can now do. Here, too, my feeling is that the student would profit if we could use the same kind of conceptual framework that he must also learn for language. Hence, I try to maintain in the study of behavioral units the same kind of reference to identificational-contrastive features, to allo-units, and to distribution in a patterned structure, that I am using for language (see, in this connection, Chapters 1-5, and Chapter 17, of the language and behavior materials mentioned above). It seems to me that we should develop the kind of approach that will let us not only report events as we report phonetic sounds, but that rather we will deliberately seek for contrast in contrastive events just as we seek for contrast between phonemes in particular syllabic slots. We must develop a vigorous analytical pedagogy in anthropology which allows us to move away from an "etic" descriptive start into a patterned "emic" analytical procedure and description. To be sure, the idea of pattern in anthropology is an old one, but it by no means follows from this that a deliberate analytical approach to discovering such pattern in terms of contrast, variants, and distributional slots is available to the beginning student, engineered to his level. It is this, I maintain, which we must make available.

Similarly, we have been "standing on the sidelines" as observers of ethnological events, for a long time. We have also moved to take

part in such events as "participant observers." This, however, is by no means sufficient to satisfy me any longer. The kind of approach which I am looking for is one which will produce theoretical materials which in turn will provide to the "anthropological engineer" the background which will let him prepare a new kind of textbook. This textbook would be one which would teach people how to adopt a culture or a cultural point of view--just as we teach one to adopt a language on demand--to the degree that this is useful in a particular situation. Various kinds of practical people have done this in certain areas of behavior already. Chief among these, perhaps, are authors of books on etiquette.

Yet for teaching people to adopt etiquette patterns of preliterate peoples there seems to be no theoretical material available of a type which we have for teaching people to adopt the language of such people. In my view, it should be possible to prepare textbooks which will fill this gap. In fact, on occasion, I have made the first tiny approaches to this. On a morning, at one of our summer institutes, we have on occasion announced that the staff has adopted a particular culture pattern for the day. We have not stated what this consisted of--though it in fact consisted of certain greeting patterns, etc. We have told the students that they must find what the pattern consists of, and adopt it. When the student begins the day he does not know what the bits are which are involved. He finds them only when he gets a "cold shoulder" or some special cultural cue to the fact that he is being unacceptable or displeasing. He must then experiment to find out what he overlooked, and adopt a change in his behavior until he can get cues given him by the staff that he is now socially acceptable. It is this type of approach, amplified to a full-fledged cultural course, which in my view should help train diplomats to be more sensitive to the people where they go. It should make foreign businessmen more capable of understanding the people whom they are trying to work with. It should make missionaries more kindly within the matrix of the culture where they are.

Yet, for such a program, it would not be sufficient to have research just in linguistics or just in culture. Rather, the research must cross over the lines to try to determine structural materials which language and non-language cultures share. The first obvious unit is the sharing of a common matrix. Language occurs in a matrix of nonverbal behavior and perception. And, in turn, nonlanguage behavior is likely to be summarized, reported, or labeled by language.

Much deeper relationships presumably also exist--as evidenced in the perception and language studies of Lenneberg, for example ("Cognition in Ethnolinguistics," Language 29, 463-71, 1953). And much discussion is under way in reference to the "Whorf hypothesis" (note the volume edited by Carroll, (Language, Thought and Reality, Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, 1956).

It seems to me that the genetic equipment of man conditions him to react in certain ways. It would appear to me that all purposive activity must include certain structural components without which man cannot operate rationally. It is precisely from this underlying genetic source that, I believe, comes the necessity of looking for identificational-contrastive components, range of deviation of allo-units, and relevance of distribution in slots and high-level structures, classes, or systems. Further shared structural components can also be determined. A number of these--such as hierarchical structure of a physical type (analogous to the language phonological hierarchy), a hierarchy of a purpose type in terms of alternatives available for choice at any one point in activity (analogous to a class of words in language), and structural units of function in a high-level patterned sequence (analogous to tagmemes of language) seem also universally present in all human purposive behavior. Research needs to be carried on in these and in other directions as a basis for teaching the student (a) to understand and (b) to adopt relevant components of a culture.

LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN LANGUAGE RESEARCH

Wolf Leslau

I shall limit my observations to Ethiopia, a country with which I familiarized myself through my various trips in 1946, 1950, 1954 and 1959, having spent there altogether close to three years collecting material on the various Semitic and Cushitic languages. Without knowing the conditions of collecting material in the other parts of Africa, I am probably safe in assuming that the situation is different from that of Ethiopia. For one thing, Ethiopia has been -- except for short periods -- an independent country. The relationship of its people to a foreigner wishing to travel across their country to gather scientific material is undoubtedly different from that of the other African peoples who were ruled by foreigners for centuries. Indeed, the Ethiopians are proud of their past. For that matter, they seem to consider themselves superior to the Westerner, whatever his country may be. At times the Westerner comes to their country to investigate their way of life, to reveal it to the outside world in what seems to him as objective a manner as possible. The modern Ethiopian, however, is acquainted with the ways of life of the Western World; he is aware that they are different from his own ways of life. He is worried by the possibility that the Western scholar, objectively as he tries to describe Ethiopian life, may give an impression of backward conditions and of primitive life. The truth of the matter is that, unfortunately, much too often travelers have come to Ethiopia and having spent there a few weeks, wrote books having titles such as "Savage Ethiopia" in the hope that the title would attract readers. While travelers of that kind are not the only source of difficulties created for the scholar, they certainly contribute their share toward making the scholar's investigation uneasy, to say the least. The difficulties encountered by the scholar in his investigation are real, but they can be overcome. I may add right away that the difficulties are greater for the social scientist than for the linguist, but even for the social scientist conditions are improving considerably.

The first step to be undertaken by the investigator, be he a linguist or a social scientist, is to receive permission from the Central Government, represented either by the Emperor himself or by the Ministry of Interior, to pursue his work. He needs this permission to be able to travel to the interior and to gain the confidence of the inhabitants. I am aware, partly through personal experience, that the investigator with a limited amount of time at his disposal needs a lot of patience to obtain finally the necessary permission. The famous ʾəššī nägä "yes tomorrow" attitude that finds its counterpart so well in manana -- never an outright refusal, but a drawn-out postponing of a decision -- is likely to exasperate the investigator. However, having come to Ethiopia to live with the Ethiopians, he would do well to acquire their culture and get used to the ʾəššī nägä philosophy.

The linguist then has permission to do his work. What is his purpose? Is it the investigation of Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia, or of the local dialects? Whatever his purpose may be, he should not come to Ethiopia until he has acquired the knowledge of the structure of Amharic. In the present situation he will not find an Ethiopian -- with the exception of one Ethiopian who, incidentally, was trained at Georgetown University -- who has a scientific training in the language. I hope that the situation will improve in the near future since we are now training at U. C. L. A. three Ethiopian students in Semitic linguistics with special stress on Ethiopic to be the future linguists of their country.

As I said before, an acquaintance with the structure of Amharic is essential, as otherwise the investigator will lose months without tangible results. Once he has acquired a knowledge of the structure of the language with the help of a linguist, he will look for means to acquire the speaking ability in the country itself. Before I went to Ethiopia for the first time (in 1946), I had hoped that I would be able to live with an Ethiopian family and practice my Amharic. This proved to be impossible. I have the impression that a foreigner will not be accepted by an Ethiopian family for money. But I think back with nostalgia to 1946 when for ten cents one could take a ride on the gari (an Indian word - a two-wheeler), sit near the balä gari, the driver, and practice Amharic for half an hour, inquiring about the driver's family, his working conditions, his earnings, his birthplace. All this for ten cents. Today, with very few exceptions, the gari has disappeared from the streets of Addis Ababa, the Mille-Cento (a small car of Italian make) has taken its place and barely does one have time to start a sentence when the destination is reached. There is, however, a more conventional way to study Amharic, and this is to hire a native speaker for a few hours a day and converse with him. With the great number of students in the high schools and at the University College, it is not difficult to find an instructor for conversation. I insist once more that one should not expect from the "instructor" a structural treatment of the language.

Once the initial conversational skill is acquired, one can practice it easily by going to the market ("mercato" - Italian word), buying small local objects and bargaining with the seller. A much more efficient way in every respect to acquire the language is to travel to the interior. A trip to the interior, is, of course, essential to any social scientist, unless his particular project is concerned with the city. Indeed, Addis Ababa is becoming less and less representative of Ethiopian culture. It is in the interior that the investigator will familiarize himself, without any artificiality, with Ethiopian life. As for the linguist, he should travel with his servant and possibly with a cook, neither of them knowing a Western language. While in the beginning he will use only "kitchen Amharic", he will acquire little by little a better grasp of the language. There are, of course, special regions to be suggested for acquiring Standard Amharic, but this is not the subject of my talk.

The same observations will apply to acquiring another important language of Ethiopia, and I refer to Tigrinya. In this case, the place of departure for the linguist will be Asmara in the North of the country instead of Addis Ababa, but for the success of his work he will do well to start with Addis Ababa where he must receive the authorization for his work.

Let us now turn our attention to the investigation of lesser dialects which are important for the linguist mainly for their scientific aspects. They are also important to those who have special reasons for keeping up direct contact with the speakers of these dialects. I refer to the missionaries who live with the people and preach to them, and I would add -- even though this principle is not generally accepted -- the foreign teachers who live in the provinces and whose pupils use these dialects in their daily life in addition to Amharic. Since for most of these dialects there are no textbooks, the missionary as well as the teacher will have to study these languages on his own, through the slow process of acquiring the language by everyday practice. I do not need to insist in this gathering that if the missionary or the Western teacher is acquainted with the principles of linguistics, his task of acquiring the local dialects will become much easier. It will become even easier, in my opinion, if he has studied Amharic in the scientific way, since this will enable him to apply the principles of Amharic to the study of the local dialect if it happens to belong to the Semitic language family, the family of which Amharic is a member.

How about the linguist who is interested in the dialect mainly for scientific reasons, his purpose being to acquire either the vocabulary or the linguistic material for describing the structure of the language? There is the ideal method of living in the region as long as is necessary to acquire a speaking knowledge through everyday life. The length of time required for this process will, of course, depend on the linguist's ability to acquire a spoken language. Ideal as this method may be, very few linguists will find enough time to acquire a speaking knowledge of each dialect in, let us say, Gurage, a region of twelve dialects. There remains then the method of direct questioning. Since the dialect he intends to study is new to him, he is in no position to use it as the language of communication. What then will be the language of communication? The great majority of Ethiopians know Amharic, the national language of Ethiopia, and the linguist must be equipped with the knowledge of this language. The question, however, arises whether he should use Amharic as the language of communication. I am of the opinion that if he can avoid it he should not use Amharic. The reasons are obvious. Any Semitic Ethiopic language is structurally quite close to Amharic and often the linguist is likely to obtain "calques" from Amharic, not only when working on the syntax, but also on the vocabulary. I should add, however, that for some of the dialects of Gurage and for Argobba and Gafat (about which I will speak later) I did not find a single speaker who knew any Western language and I was fortunate to

be able to use Amharic as the language of communication.

To come back to the informants who know either French or English. Where will the linguist turn to find informants in the interior speaking one of these foreign languages? The best sources of manpower are the schools and the missions. More and more young Ethiopians attend secondary schools in the provinces, and while their knowledge of English is rudimentary, it can at times be sufficient for a linguistic investigation. An even more important source of linguistic manpower is the missions. They are more important if only because the investigator will find in the interior a well-built house, filtered water, and well-prepared food. As for the informants, he will find them in the schools of the missions.

A distinction should be made between the Protestant and Catholic missions. While in the Protestant missions the language of communication will be English, in the Catholic missions the linguist will be able to communicate in French even though English is becoming more and more dominant. I was extremely fortunate to start my work on Gurage in the Catholic mission of Endeber, the center of Chaha. This was in 1946. A well-educated group of young Gurages between the ages of twelve and twenty-five boarded at that time in this mission, and I recall with the greatest pleasure the twelve weeks that I spent there. I may add that the majority of these boys continued their education and some of them hold, at present, important government jobs. (One of them is the linguist whom I mentioned before. Having noticed his interest in language problems, I made the necessary arrangements for him to be accepted in a high school of Addis Ababa. He then received his B.A. from the University College of Addis Ababa and his M.A. in linguistics from Georgetown University).

There is, however, a drawback in using informants from the schools and missions. Most of them are relatively young, and left their native villages at an early age to attend school in a bigger city. As a result, they have lost contact with their dialects since they use Amharic in school and in their social contacts. The linguist will then have to turn to the more mature informant who, it is true, may not know any Western language, but who still uses his own dialect in every-day life, and, if the gods are with the linguist, has a natural understanding of linguistic problems. The language of communication will then be Amharic. (At this point, I wish to stress once more the fact that it is absolutely essential for the linguist to have the blessing of the central and local governments to avoid any suspicion and to have the confidence of the inhabitants.)

The linguist will, then, look around for informants. Before turning to individual people, he has at his disposal another source of collective manpower in the interior, especially if he happens to be in a more important town. I refer to the police. Indeed, in an important police station which very often will have a training school, the members

come from the various regions of the provinces and it is easier for the linguist to find the appropriate informant. In the city of Addis Ababa it is the army that will furnish him with informants of the various regions. Having exhausted, successfully or unsuccessfully, all of these possibilities, the linguist will then look for individuals. He will find his informants among farmers, merchants, office clerks and soldiers. On one occasion I even had lepers as informants. I needed a few hours of supplementary work with speakers of Alaba, an Eastern Sidamo dialect. My main work was done with an Alaba speaker living in Addis Ababa. He was unable to answer all my questions and the only alternative would have been to go to the Alaba region, an enterprise I could not afford at that time for various reasons. But on my way to Yirgalem, in the Sidamo region, I passed through Shashamane, the seat of the Sudan Interior Mission which keeps up a leper hospital. It so happened that some Alaba speakers were inmates of this hospital. I cannot say that I spent there the most pleasant hours of my life, but with the help of three lepers, I could complete my investigation.

I mentioned before that I worked on Alaba with an Alaba speaker living in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. This brings to my mind another important source of manpower. While working on a dialect of a specific region it is, of course, an ideal solution to go to the region and investigate on the spot. There is no need to insist here on this approach. There are, however, situations in which the linguist is unable to visit all the regions of his linguistic interest. He may be busy in Addis Ababa, he may feel exhausted because of his previous trips to the interior, and he may want to sleep in a comfortable bed. Fortunately, Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, will help him to solve these problems. Indeed, for nearly every province of Ethiopia, the linguist will find informants in Addis Ababa. Of course, he will have to be guided by friends through the narrow streets of the "mercato", but chances are that he will find an informant. He can only hope that he will find a good informant. I do not need to tell you, indeed, that not every native speaker is a good informant. It happened to me once that I had to send away four informants, one after another, while collecting a vocabulary of a Sidamo dialect, because they did not grasp the idea of translating, a very abstract idea indeed.

So far I may have given you the impression that the linguist will find informants -- and good informants -- for every language of his interest. Far from it. I was interested in the investigation of Argobba, a Semitic language spoken to the south of Harar. We know that the language has disappeared and has been replaced by Galla. After several days of inquiry it came to my attention that in an Argobba village there was an old man still speaking the language. Through the governor's efforts the man was brought to the city of Harar to work with me. You will easily understand my disappointment when I noticed that my only speaker of Argobba had no teeth. The investigation of Argobba of Harar, if it is still spoken at all, awaits another linguist. On another occasion

I was interested in the language of Gafat, in the region of the Blue Nile. We know that the language was spoken at the end of the 18th century but is at present replaced by Amharic. After searching for the language for three weeks I was fortunate to find four speakers, all of them old, but fortunately still having their teeth; here again I had no other choice of informants. This, however, was one of the most exciting moments of my linguistic work in Ethiopia.

I would like to bring up now a serious problem with which the linguist in Ethiopia may be confronted. The problem is serious because it goes beyond linguistic considerations. It concerns nationalism and its relationship to linguistic work. While my knowledge of the other regions of Africa in respect to linguistic investigations is inadequate, I am afraid that the African linguist will soon be confronted with the same difficulties. The few observations that I wish to make are in no way a criticism, but are simply intended to confront us with the reality. Ethiopia is an empire, with a central government. There are dozens of languages spoken in Ethiopia belonging to three language families: Semitic, Cushitic and Nilotic. While for the linguist this situation represents an ideal set-up for his work, the government has to look upon this state of affairs in a different way. The central government strives for unification of the country, and diversity of language is not always an element favoring unification. As a result of this government concept, Amharic is imposed more and more as the national language, and because of the growing economic and social prestige of Amharic, some dialects are likely to disappear, and as a matter of fact, have disappeared. Pursuing the concept of national unity, the government does not favor the knowledge of the dialects and their use in public life. At times the task of the linguist wishing to investigate the dialects may be rendered difficult by the opposition of the central or local government. The obstacles, however, encountered by a linguist who has the confidence of the Ethiopian government are, in the long run, not too serious. After having explained to the authorities publicly and in writing the importance of the dialects for the knowledge of Geez and Amharic, I am very happy to say that I was given the most generous support to pursue my linguistic work.

You may have noticed that I spoke about the importance of the dialects for the knowledge of Geez and Amharic. Indeed, I never publicly expressed my opinion concerning the preservation of these dialects from the political and national point of view. I felt that this was not the task of the linguist, whose aim is the investigation of the languages. This task was greatly facilitated by the cooperation of the Ethiopian government. How many governments would have released for six weeks an office clerk, with pay, to work with a linguist coming from abroad? How many police officers would have brought to Addis Ababa policemen stationed at a distance of about one hundred miles from the capital to work with a linguist who happened to be interested in their Gurage dialect? All this and many more proofs of cooperation

were furnished by the Ethiopian authorities to the present speaker. I only hope that the Ethiopian government will also further the task of their own future linguists, thus rendering a great service to their own culture.

This is the first time since I started my linguistic investigations in Ethiopia in 1946 that I have put together my experiences with informants, and I am very happy to have had this opportunity of sharing these experiences with you.

THE EXPERIENCE IN THE AFRICAN LANGUAGE PROGRAM IN SOAS

J. Berry

My terms of reference are somewhat wide and rather than give a quite formal paper in which I might try to anticipate your queries, it seemed better perhaps to speak very briefly about my department at the School of Oriental and African Studies; touch in passing upon a few points that might be of general interest and leave ample time for any questions the conference might like to put to me.

The Department of Africa, in the SOAS as it is presently constituted, consists of 20 full time teachers of African languages, of whom four are appointed teachers of the University. For reasons which need not concern us here, it seems unlikely that this establishment will be materially changed within the foreseeable future. Although it is not considered either possible or desirable to define too rigidly the work of university teachers, the prescribed activities of the department do in fact fall into three broad categories which I might note, but not in an order which is in any way intended to make their relative importance. The categories which are prescribed are roughly:

1. Teaching. I think it is important to note that besides the normal university teaching activities for degree, post graduate diplomas, and higher degrees, this teaching includes more elementary teaching of a type not usually associated in Britain, at least, with university departments. As an example of that, I would instance introductory courses in African languages and special courses which are being given from time to time for Africans in their own languages. For a number of years, for example, the Gold Coast, as it was then, sent me regularly six African teachers to be trained in the study of the mother tongue. These teachers were not of normally accepted university level.

2. Practical Research. By this I mean research undertaken and directed specifically at language teaching, that is, the provision of grammars, dictionaries and courses in languages that need to be taught in the school, as well as some external activities, such as advising local governments on orthographic and dialectal problems, and a whole range of activities which I believe is sometimes called in America, "language engineering". I mention this point because I think here we have something which the conference should consider, and that is in the school we have a fairly large corpus of courses which have been refined over a number of years. Things being as they are, we find it extremely difficult to publish these courses and I think the conference might take note of these difficulties and see in what way we might make arrangements for a publication of this sort.

3. Studies more purely academic than the preceeding, and I don't think we need spend any time on that. These are studies not obviously or immediately connected with teaching demands and we all of course agree with the need to undertake these types of study as a general principle of university life, but I think it has a special validity in the field of African languages which have not as yet achieved -- again I must qualify this in saying not in Britain at least -- academic parity with other branches of knowledge.

The extent of the field. In the immediate postwar period, as a result of the recommendations of the commissions of the Earl of Scarborough and his Grace, the Duke of Devonshire, the school was faced with an urgent demand for courses in the major languages of British territories in Africa. The change in the political picture in the last ten years has meant, of course, a review of this situation, and we now hope that it will ultimately be possible to provide courses in the more important languages of the whole of Africa, south of the Sahara. For example, quite recently, two lecturers have prepared themselves in Portugese, have visited Portugese territories in Africa and as a result of their research they are now in a position to teach some of the languages.

Types of Students and Courses. The types of students vary greatly, both as regards the courses and the languages they require. I should perhaps at this point mention that the main resources of African languages teaching in Britain, are by agreed policy centered on the school. Since, and while this is so, it is incumbent upon the department to accept students who in other disciplines of study would most probably seek instruction elsewhere than in a university. We find that with a teaching staff of 20 and our present resources, a total of 100 to 150 students a year is optimum. In the present year, there are 94, and of these 9 are degree students reading a tripartite degree for their BA honors in African studies, one of the parts of this degree is, of course, an African language. One is an African post-graduate student engaged on research on his own language, Zulu, and the remainder are missionaries, employees of commercial houses, officers of the armed forces, members of the Foreign and Colonial Offices, and overseas education services taking sessional or terminal courses. I think it may be significant that of nearly 50 languages offered by the school, 33% of the students this year are receiving instruction in Swahili, and 10% in Hausa. These percentages are fairly typical and constant throughout the years.

Another point that was raised yesterday about the degree course - this is quite recently instituted in London and we have found that the undergraduate demand is increasing. We do tend to publicize the course; the school has its own Education Officer who visits schools and draws attention to this course as a possible one, and the response has been quite encouraging in recent years.

The courses themselves. In recent years, our courses have been regularized, and of these, other than for diploma or degree, we have two kinds: sessional or terminal. The sessional course involved instruction to the order of 6 hours per week throughout the session, and the terminal course is either intensive or introductory. In the one case 8 to 10 hours a week is given and in the other, 2 to 5.

Now, in the light of what I have said about the department, I come to some problems of a general nature which may be relevant for your consideration. I shall speak first of problems of administration and then teaching and teaching methods.

The number of African languages which may be offered for a degree is, rightly I think, limited. The number of languages and dialects which we may be properly expected to teach is quite enormous. Establishment of the department is fairly certainly fixed at 20 teaching posts, with the effective teaching strength of any one year, because of absences on research, leave and study leave, is always considerably less, and members of the department have, within their contract, a year's study leave every third year in Africa. The continued provision of teaching facilities under these conditions, is difficult. It has been up to a point achieved by having more than one teacher who can deal with the important languages; Swahili, for example, 3 at least, or 4 teachers can take that course. And obviously the fact that 50 languages are offered by a total of 20 implies that all members of the staff are responsible for teaching more than one language. I do not wish to enter into controversy here about the validity of such concepts of culture area or linguistic typology, etc., but it is very often a problem to devide mutually with members of staff the areas of specialization. Here on this I would say that we have to accept inequality of teaching loads as something quite normal; and also chairs without students, and we even occasionally have to default in our teaching commitments. I think these things have got to be accepted as part and parcel of an African teaching program.

The situation is relieved by our use of full time assistants and overseas lectures. The school has always employed specially selected Africans in these two capacities. I think I might say a little more about informants. We have employed native speakers in several capacities; as full time lecturers, that is entirely comparable with the other lecturers on the staff. the European lecturers; we have had two such quite successful cases. A second grade is the assistant grade, and these are native speakers employed on a yearly contractual basis, in point of fact the contract is usually renewed at least twice, whose main purpose is to assist in the preparation and teaching of language courses. A third type is the informant proper who is brought to the country for a period, usually of a year, to work with a lecturer who is beginning a new language. The year's work of the informant in London is usually followed up by a year's field work with or without the informant. On the

whole I think this system has worked well, but experience suggests that this depends on the care with which the assistant is selected. Approach in the first instance of the local government is, I think, necessary, but their suggestions sometimes need careful scrutiny. Again I would say it is usually better to offer the assistant or informant facilities for private study; this carries much more weight than purely monetary considerations.

About teaching, I will content myself with saying only this: we use, I believe, up-to-date methods, although perhaps we lack the magnificent facilities of Georgetown which so impressed my colleague, Mr. Clark. On the whole the results have not been unduly disappointing, but two problems are constantly with us. The degree course is not difficult to provide. There we have the right sort of student and he has adequate time to learn and master the language of his choice. What is much more difficult to organize satisfactorily is the short course which is much in demand by missionaries and others who can attend only a few hours a week, for a very short leave period. Because of sheer weight of numbers, classes here have sometimes been composed of students with very mixed educational backgrounds, although of course attempts are always made, wherever possible, to keep the classes small and homogenous. The very limited time available to students of this sort constitutes the major difficulty. Ideas about what course is best for this type of student vary among my colleagues between two extremes: on the one hand there are those who would favor what might be termed an introduction to a language area rather than a course in it, in which the student is prepared for the phonetic and grammatical difficulties he is most likely to encounter. On the other hand, courses are sometimes recommended in which a minute area of the chosen language is studied in intensive detail. It will be understood, of course, that neither course gives the student a great facility in the use of the language.

I should like, if I may, to end this paper with a suggestion which has perhaps little immediate relevance to what has gone before, but when my colleagues learned that I was attending this conference, they prepared a few notes for my guidance and I was asked to put through some of their suggestions. I will read only one which I myself personally would endorse very strongly. In order to keep abreast of the work done in other centers of African studies, we would welcome the exchange of an annual report on all activities within our field. The report would refer to past work, working progress, and proposed tours of study. The report would be more detailed than anything which is normally published. Advantages of such an exchange of information would be: (a) that we would be able to arrange meetings between members of our staff who are in the same areas; (b) that off-prints and other publications could be exchanged on a systematic instead of a casual basis; (c) that request for advice and collaboration would be put out by means of the report; such reports could be circulated not only to a specialist but over a network of institutions with common interests.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS POSED BY THE STUDY OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES

Calame-Griaule

I should like to place before you some sociological and psychological problems posed by the study of African languages. First and foremost are the problems of "terrain" which should interest the linguist concerned with penetrating deeply into the comprehension of the proper spirit of the language with which he is concerned. But it is, and should be, a pedagogical problem also. It was often said this morning, "teaching will depend on research". The reverse is also true. From now on instruction must prepare future scholars to realize these problems. We are here on the plane of scientific instruction. We are concerned in France with the problem of providing cultural instruction together with linguistic instruction in African matters. On the plane of practical instruction, it would certainly not be useless to those who wish to become familiar enough with a language to speak it on the spot to know the human problems that it poses.

My field of research is situated in the French Sudan and is concerned with the Dogon who live near the cliffs of Bandiagara in the loop of the Niger. It also extends to the neighboring river population of the Niger - Bambara and Bozo principally. It goes without saying that the problems I wish to point out also occur in many other languages and among many other peoples. Here are a few examples which do not begin to exhaust the subject.

1. Complexity - The multiplicity in the same region of languages and of dialects within a given language is well known. The dialects at times are so different that individuals of the same group but from distant regions must use a vehicular language to understand each other. I personally know of Dogon dialects so distinct as to require an intermediary language for communication. For this complexity, which is in itself a problem, the Africans urge many different solutions, the most practical of which is to learn foreign languages.

Every Sudanese speaks two or three languages besides his own. For the Bozo fisherman the problem is really critical. Since their language, which is very archaic and phonetically difficult, is not spoken by any of their neighbors, they must speak Bambara, Peul, Songhay, etc. This fact explains the progressive disappearance of Bozo in one part of their territory and the increase of Bambara. For this reason Bozo is one of the languages relatively unimportant numerically but of utmost importance linguistically and scientifically, which must be studied before it becomes extinct.

The multiplicity of dialects is a problem for the student. He must bear in mind the "linguistic conscience" or feeling for the language

which these peoples have. A hierarchy of dialects is generally recognized. Among the Dogon two main dialects, considered the oldest and most correct, are known over the larger part of the territory because they are the carriers of songs, certain religious texts, and of rhymed proverbs pertaining to every category of individual or object. There is a certain "reversibility" of dialects which means that each Dogon traveling to the interior of the country must adapt his dialect to one of these two main ones. This linguistic complexity is one reason to encourage future instruction in western languages - such as French and English - which will be necessary for the New Africa. But, one must not exclude the teaching of the local or vehicular languages either.

2. Linguistic Conscience - I mentioned the hierarchy of dialects, the style of beautiful speech, the deep respect which is felt for individuals who express themselves in correct and elegant language and which is inseparable, in African psychology, from great wisdom.

The linguistic apprenticeship of children is another interesting problem: how do they learn to recognize the innumerable local dialects and accents, how do they come to recognize the linguistic hierarchy and the necessity of speaking correctly? They are aided by the feeling each one has for his own dialect - which expresses itself by conservatism. For example women who marry into villages belonging to a different dialect are forced to conserve intact the dialect of their paternal family so that they cannot be accused of having "exchanged speech for food."

A characteristic example of this linguistic conscience is the institution of "village jeering", an exchange of jeering and deriding phrases which distort and exaggerate the pronunciation, expressions (and eventually the character) of the inhabitants of such and such a village.

The study of these traditional jeers is of great interest for the linguist. These jeers also present a psychological aspect since they constitute a veritable true catharsis all possibility of eventual quarrels being dispelled by the laughter and good humor that inevitably follows such an introduction. (The results are ritually exchanged by individuals related by marriage and are called "kinship jesting".)

3. Oral literature - We must emphasize the importance of the culture expressed in a given language (even if it is a question of a language of relatively limited area). It is urgent to gather the greatest possible number of texts (transcribed and translated as soon as possible after recording). But oral literature should not furnish linguistic materials only; it should also be analysed in depth from the point of view of symbolic structure. The Sudanese stories and fables which I studied are the reflection of the myths, the beliefs, the psychology of social institutions etc. of these peoples. Each character and each event of the stories presents a symbolic import which will be explained to the youth. Oral literature is in effect one of the most important methods

of instruction which traditional African societies possess. Study of these symbols also permits investigation of important psychological problems - the symbol of birth and how it develops, etc.

These peoples also have a stylistic integrity - a little known and very little studied even now. "Literary" Bambara, for example, offers a poetic style, images, alliteration, a choice of words for sound more than for significance, etc. Assuming that it is a question of oral literature, one must examine the diction, rhythum, and vocal qualities of the narrator which are considered essentials.

The unwritten character of African languages does not exclude the existence of very complex graphic systems, more ideograms than signs of writing, whose relationship with the spoken language undeniably is still a mystery for scholars.

4. All these ideas which I have briefly sketched account for a very important metaphysical conception of speech (which for each individual takes the aspect of his own language, of his own dialect, unchangeable and untransferrable.)

Speech is life. It is assimilated like water which causes the germination of symbolic seeds, which make up the essentials of individuals. One should not forget that agriculture and water are the guarantees of survival of these people and their speech.

The very lively taste that Africans show for foreign languages is explained by these beliefs. New languages are for them new seeds and signify an enlargement of their vital strength. The young people who speak several languages marry easily even if they are poor. Those who are not able to leave in order to study a foreign language on the spot pay a more fortunate friend for private lessons.

5. It is difficult to ask linguists to accomplish such research alone in addition to their own work since this calls for specialized ethonological information. But one can hope that they will be advised of the existence of such problems and that they can work together with anthropologists. As for the latter, it is important that a firm foundation in language be established.

6. A word in closing on the international aspect of this meeting I transmit to you the wish of the Director of Cultural Affairs of the Franch Foreign Ministry, whom I have the honor to represent, that we maintain and strengthen the contacts between our specialists and yours, so that in the end, each may profit from the others. Perhaps we may hold future meetings in Paris?

WHAT LEVEL OF COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE SOUGHT BY WESTERN SPEAKERS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES?

Desmond T. Cole

On receiving the request to read a paper on this subject, my first thought was the counter-question, "For what purpose? Surely the level of communication to be sought must depend on what one wants to communicate, and on the type of activity with which one is concerned, or the kind of relationship between oneself and the natives". But there was an immediate second reaction: "No matter what the purpose, the area of activity, the type of relationship, the objective should always be the highest possible level of proficiency in any language which one sets out to learn."

I adhere very firmly to the latter view-point; but there are a number of aspects of both which bear further consideration. A number of my assertions will be of general application, and not specifically relevant to African languages or to the African situation. On the other hand I must emphasize that many of the observations I shall make are not based on any kind of experiment or ad hoc study of this problem; on the contrary they represent general impressions, not always very clearly defined, and furthermore they are limited mainly to experience in South Africa, among Bantu Africans.

Dealing first now with the problems of communication for different purposes and the reactions of natives to foreign users of their languages: I think it must be obvious that the missionary, the trader, the administrative officer, the agricultural adviser, etc., may require different levels of proficiency, especially in the lexical area. But even within the mission field, for example, there are different types of activity, and the linguistic requirements of the missionary doctor will not be the same as those for the pastor. The native speakers themselves are fully sensitive to this, and their degree of tolerance will vary accordingly. A much higher all-round level of proficiency will be expected of the pastor than of the doctor, since the relationship with the pastor is of a much higher spiritual and deeper emotional type. Yet the missionary doctor may have occasion to discuss spiritual and other religious problems, and be afforded a degree of attention and of tolerance to his lack of proficiency in the language, which would not be afforded the pastor when dealing with the same subject. Native speakers, then, have different degrees of expectation of linguistic proficiency from foreigners, depending on the area of contact and the type of relationship between them.

Linguistic proficiency in the use of a foreign language may be of different types. It is well known that a person's receptive capacity, even for his mother tongue, is greater than his productive capacity. But there are levels of proficiency in speaking a foreign language which can be correlated with the phonological, morphological

(or morpho-syntactical) and lexical levels or aspects of linguistic analysis; and natives will react differently to uneven proficiency in these various aspects. Some people, for example, excel in the phonological area: they have "a good ear," they acquire "foreign accents" easily and quickly, and after quite brief exposure may sound very impressively like native speakers, though their command of vocabulary and of morphological structures often remains quite limited. Others quickly acquire an extensive vocabulary, but continue to string it together in most ungrammatical fashion; yet others develop in time a very fluent and grammatically correct spoken form of the language, together with an adequate vocabulary, but continue to murder the pronunciation. Proper linguistic training can of course help to reduce and correct this type of unevenness in linguistic proficiency, though it is unlikely to eliminate it altogether. But it is interesting to observe that the first type mentioned, the person with the "good accent" and who creates, initially, a most favourable impression on that account, may ultimately be the least successful unless he has a very thorough command of the morphological and lexical aspects also. One's reaction to a foreigner's use of one's language seems, initially, to be at the phonological level, and if this is favourable, one expects an equivalent standard of achievement in the morphological and lexical areas. Failing this, one may suffer a feeling of deception, of having been let down or fooled, with consequent adverse or antagonistic reaction to the foreigner speaking one's language and to whatever he may have to say.

On the other hand, when a person makes a poor start on a language, and it is evident from the first word that his handling of it is very imperfect, the hearer tends to adjust himself, he prepares for the worst, listens more attentively and will face up to and take an incredible amount of distortion and maltreatment of his language with relatively little external evidence of his agony and suffering.

In Africa, certainly in the areas where I have travelled and done field work, i.e., the Union, the Protectorates, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa and Angola, the view seems to be quite general among Africans that Westerners just don't learn to speak their languages properly. This view is based on their experiences over many years with government officers, missionaries, traders, industrial overseers, etc. Less than two months ago, while conducting a course on the Tswana language for White government officers in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, I received a visit from Chief Bathoeng of the Ngwaketse tribe. He showed great interest in the course, its objectives, the methods employed; but he concluded rather wistfully, "Of course you are wasting your time. These people will never speak Tswana properly, not like X and Y and Z who grew up speaking it from earliest childhood."

Among missionaries, dedicated men and women with a strong sense of vocation, such as are not often found in other types of activity, very

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few learn to speak the African languages properly. Some develop a very fluent spoken form of the language, often with an extensive vocabulary and use of idiom, for the most part morphologically correct at the segmental level, but even after thirty years their pronunciation and use of tone remains atrocious. One hears many stories of the results of this kind of imperfect knowledge of a language. I think it is Dr. Eugene Nida who records somewhere in his writings the episode of the missionary in a new district, addressing a congregation in the local language, and later being presented with the observation, "We never realized before that English is so much like our own language." Then there is the anecdote of the man who had addressed a gathering of Africans at some length, and inquired whether there were any questions, whereupon a spokesman said, "No, how can we ask questions since we have not understood you?" "But I have been speaking your language all the time!" "Oh, really? Well then I must tell my people to listen when you speak." This is all very amusing, but a tragic reflection on the kind of attempt we Westerners have made to date on the learning of African, and, for that matter, other non-European languages; and even more tragic is the fact that this situation is a reflection on our general attitudes to the peoples concerned, their languages and their cultures.

Generally, natives appear to resign themselves philosophically to the distortions and mangling which their languages suffer in the mouths of Westerners, and will actually imitate them in conversation with foreigners of this type. Indeed, the assumption that Westerners cannot learn to speak their languages properly is so strong that they will insist, to Westerners, that these distorted forms are the correct ones. A few years ago, while doing field work on UMbundu, in Angola, I was unable to find in the pronunciation of my mission-trained informant the flapped (l) which I suspected should occur in the language as an allophone of the /l/ phoneme. I tried all possible phonological environments without success, then explained what I sought and asked whether perhaps he had heard people use it in other dialects. No, most emphatically not, no such sound ever occured in Umbundu! No, most em- I heard my informant addressing a group of his people -- and the flapped (l) came tripping off his tongue, dozens of times each minute. Not one of his White colleagues in the mission ever used it however, nor had they even noted its existence.

The fact that Africans have apparently resigned themselves philosophically to such unkind linguistic treatment, and to so many other cultural, economic and personal indignities, does the Westerners no credit at all. This has been the cause of endless misunderstanding and confusion, leading to resentment and antagonism which in recent years have often manifested themselves quite openly in relations between White and Africans on that continent.

In general I believe it is true that any man appreciates any attempt on the part of a foreigner to speak to him in his own language; and my

experience has usually been that Africans derive great pleasure from hearing their languages really well spoken by Whites. But in more recent times, in South Africa at least, one has sensed an adverse reaction sometimes, and a suspicion of the White man's motives. This arises obviously out of the political and socio-economic circumstances in which Africans find themselves. Even uneducated and unsophisticated African tribesmen -- in the Western sense of these terms -- tend sometimes to be suspicious of and uncooperative towards attempts by Westerners to learn their languages or to carry out research on them, lest this knowledge provide yet further means for their own exploitation by the White man. Among educated Africans too, one sometimes finds the conviction that their own languages serve only as a hindrance to their development and emancipation as full citizens in a modern Western-oriented world, and they express themselves in favour of abolishing these languages as soon as possible, and in opposition to their use in any way at all in education or for literary purposes.

I have referred earlier to the amazing degree of tolerance of Africans towards the imperfect attempts of Westerners at using their languages. This is largely true of the people living under tribal conditions. But the educated African who can speak, say English, will certainly not be so tolerant. Apart from any other considerations, why submit, after all, to the mauling of one's own language by a foreigner when one can communicate with him more effectively and economically in his language?

If then, we attempt to define the level of communication to be sought by Western speakers of African languages, we must ask what is the purpose of the study, in respect of what activities do we wish to establish communication, and with what kind of audience -- "tribal" or "educated" -- do we wish to communicate? Even if there be clearly-defined answers to these questions, and even if it were possible to cater, in language courses, for all of the different demands and combinations thereof which might arise, we should still be beset by a host of non-linguistic considerations arising out of the diverse political, social, economic, educational and emotional problems and aspirations of "emergent Africa".

It is this overall diversity and complexity which convinces me that nothing less than the highest possible level of communication should be our objective in any attempt at teaching or learning African languages, whatever the undertaking for which this may be a preparation. Obviously there are limitations to the degree of fluency and to the quantitative coverage in terms of vocabulary and idiomatic usage which can be inculcated during any teaching course on the language. Achievement of thorough proficiency in a language cannot be gained in a classroom or linguistics laboratory; this can only be acquired after a period of residence among the people, in their cultural setting, with the opportunities for daily intercourse with them. Such proficiency requires the

study and understanding of their culture in all its aspects, all the activities of their daily lives, their code of manners, courtesy and morality, their religious beliefs and folklore. There is no need to emphasize to American linguists the importance of the study of a language in relation to the other aspects of its culture, and vice versa. The intimate bond and relationship between language and culture, their interaction with each other and their dependence on each other, have repeatedly been referred to in American linguistic studies.

Anyone setting out to learn a new language embarks on an enormous task, but for Westerners approaching an African language the undertaking is particularly difficult. For an English-speaking person, say, to learn French, Spanish, German, or Danish, whatever the problems involved, is a relatively easy proposition, since all of these peoples have a common Western cultural and linguistic heritage. But with Africa there is no such common heritage, the cultural and linguistic gaps are far greater, the cosmological outlook of the peoples is quite different, and we have relatively little knowledge and understanding as yet of their cultures and cosmologies. It is imperative that linguistic and cultural studies should go hand in hand, and that these be approached with the utmost integrity, respect and humility. We need to be ever aware lest, with our cultural background of writing and gadgetry, we tend to regard people without such academic and technological developments as culturally and linguistically inferior or primitive, and then develop illusions about our linguistic prowess when we have acquired a few hundred items of vocabulary and a selection of grammatical constructions. One of the great trials of an African linguist in South Africa (and I suspect this may be true of other parts of the continent too) is hearing daily the grossly extravagant and ridiculous claims of Whites professing to speak Bantu languages "better than the Natives themselves do".

The outlook I present and the standards of proficiency I set for the study of African languages by Westerners, the overall magnitude of the task, may appear discouraging to those concerned with the teaching and learning of these languages. I am convinced, nevertheless, that only these standards can do justice to the dignity of the peoples, the languages and the cultures of Africa, and to the kind of relationship of mutual trust, respect and cooperation which we are anxious to establish with them, and which it is our duty to establish in the interests of a free and democratic world. Whatever changes the future may ultimately bring, African languages will be with us for a good long time yet. At a time when the confidence of the African peoples in their Western fellowmen has been severely shaken, and they are often assailed by misgivings and mistrust, it seems that this is one very important way in which we can attempt to retrieve our lost prestige. The task must be undertaken with the utmost sincerity, goodwill and respect, and we must be satisfied with nothing less than the highest standards we can achieve.

RESOLUTIONS

In closing, the Conference expresses its pleasure in having a number of foreign colleagues present at its meetings and states its appreciation for the substantial contributions they made.

The Conference expresses its thanks to Georgetown University for its help, generosity and extreme organization and to the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare for its generous financial support.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

1. The dynamic emergence of African nations emphasizes the urgent need to develop well-planned, long-range programs of research and teaching in African languages in the USA.

2. Government agencies, universities, foundations, and other private organizations concerned with Africa should be encouraged to require, wherever practicable, the acquisition of the appropriate degree of language competence for effective operations.

3. Universities offering African area studies, and particularly those universities offering a wide program of African studies at the graduate level, are urged to consider the inclusion of African languages and linguistics in their curricula. Conversely, it is recommended that any language and linguistics program should be accompanied by at least a certain amount of cultural area orientation, although this does not mean to imply that an African languages and linguistics program must necessarily be accompanied by a full area program.

4. Because of the large number of African languages and the complexity of the language situation in Africa, any program of research and teaching in African languages should be characterized by flexibility in curricula and an emphasis on training in general linguistics as the means by which specific language learning situations may be met as the need arises.

5. An African language program should include (a) regular intensive or semi-intensive instruction in one or more languages spoken by major population groups in the area or areas with which the institution is concerned, (b) substantial instruction, ordinarily in rotation, in several less widely used languages, and (c) introductions, possibly using only tape recordings, in any other language for which instruction is requested and for which some useable material is available.

6. It is strongly recommended that an inter-university rotating summer program in African languages be instituted which will offer (a) an introduction to linguistics with special reference to African languages, (b) a survey of African languages and language problems, and (c) courses in a restricted number of African languages, the languages to be selected on the basis of current needs and resources. Accompanying area orientation would be advisable. Attention is invited to the experience of the Five Universities Summer Program in Middle Eastern languages held consecutively at Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Columbia, Michigan, and Princeton during 1957 through 1961.

7. Measures should be taken to assure the publication or reproduction in pre-publication form of unpublished African instructional materials now existing or in the process of preparation, whether in

this country or elsewhere.

8. Organized efforts should be made to encourage the production and distribution of analytic and pedagogical materials with useable tape recordings prepared by missionaries and others in Africa.

9. We welcome the initiative taken by the Ford Foundation in its West African Languages Survey.

10. An inventory of existing and planned linguistic and pedagogical studies in African languages is urgently needed. Because of the peculiar circumstances of African linguistic research in the USA and abroad, it is strongly recommended that this inventory be carried out by an international working conference at an early date to be attended by a small group of specialists in the field who by pooling their knowledge could give a more complete inventory than could be drawn up by a single researcher. We suggest full cooperation and consultation with the International African Institute.

11. Coordination and continuity in programming of African language study in the USA should be provided. It is suggested that for this purpose means be sought to put the present Committee on Languages and Linguistics of the African Studies Association a permanent financial basis. This Committee could also maintain liaison by appropriate means with similar groups abroad.

12. It is recommended that an annual report on activities, projects and current field work on all phases of African language studies be published. We hope the necessary financial support for this will be forthcoming.

13. We wish to stress the immediate importance of training professional linguists whose area of specialization will be Africa and who can serve as a nucleus for broad programs in African languages.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE TEACHING OF
AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND AREA STUDIES

March 11 and 12, 1960
Georgetown University

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